RY 3.

tht to demand their sup

show that in ten years nt. of the population of crime, while there was ested in Barnstable and rs, the whole tate was 126,343, and of a Suffolk county. With pulation, more than half hed by Boston. pectful to Boston to say,

large cities, has a disproto say, that it is the duty such modification of h manded by the character on. Boston is our factor, iroad, and insurance office g-room, our social, politintre,-bone of our s, therefore, abourd to sup-

art of the State a dispos ful to her character, or in-BE DONE ! tal point, assume the exemust establish a State Po-pining cities. If it means uses and brothels, it must its agents that practical ordinary business, agents heir work. The agents of same position. Upon this of success or failure. It as may be appointed know comptly follow a neglect to nurseries of intemperance their turn, will hold evehe Police to the same tente take this position, and

E OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC ONTROL OF THE POLICE, HAT OF THE CITY! of the Police is subject to

will any longer continue

sturbed existence. Police

as much afraid of neglect-

ien now are of executing

merits the most earnest and the people. The pracwith the execution of the ders can be certainly overever, will not end with the Police, and the passage of enforcement of the laws. used to control the State, ol the city. Here, and here access. Depend on it, the t yield without a contest at is contest, we have confi-sion of the people. SS CAN BE REASONABLY EX-

TED. vert offences, that are withlaw. We do not say that to intemperance and licen-

do is to subject those who the secrecy, concealment, other classes of criminals e open liquor traffic, and the o the conviction, that these hide from the public eye, ifth or one-tenth of their pre that spends two millions of

ain schools that lead to vir-,—it is not fit that such a olicy to be defeated and its o or three thousand metrohose product of crime reof twenty thousand citizens product of poverty makes a people of that city dependd whose influence does more plant and sustain similar out the Commonwealth. PROVIDENT ASSOCIATION,

February 18th, 1864. ard to the question you ask, lies that have been aided by ssociation, I would answer we have aided 34,126 fami-ersons.* erty caused by the free use ould judge to be fullly eight-

GOODWIN, Gen'l Agent. eve is a little more than three EERS OF THE POOR, BOSTON, Feb. 26, 1864.

te of inquiry respecting the pported by the city of Bosears," &c., is received. You he number of persons, includ-

urines. I must state that our urns which would enable mo number of persons who may ur charities. have been single individuals; a very large portion of them

enerally widowed or deserted nemselves and children, vary e or two, to twelve or more; gment, about four persons to

nets of the Returns relating e by the "Secretary of the e number of persons relieved Poor, of the city of Boston, past, ending December 31st, 8,447 9,087 9,181 10,829 12,190 11,564

70,917 persons, on an average, have the whole number thus bene in seven years, or 40,524 yearly ob'dt serv't, W. WARREN, Chairmon, Overseers of Poor of Boston

XTURES. leave to inform his friends and eing to ill health) be has been tion at Messrs. H. B. Stanwood Stanwood & Co's, where he has fourteen years, the work being strevegth, and is now prepared GAS FIXTURES,

r. New Fixtures farnished and liass Drops cleaned, leaks stop-er, and Gas Glasses of all kinds Also, Gas Burners of all the

or to Lighting up for Parties.
or Hotel. Orders may be left at
ovision Store, 132 Charles street,
NELSON L. PERKINS.
ood & Co.

NTED, ANTED,
ske charge of a small farm; case
rork with his own hands, and
rorder of the charge
profine language.
a good situation by correspondTHOMAS HASKELL
Jan. 4. 3w

Jan. 4.

THE LIBERATOR - IS PUBLISHED -

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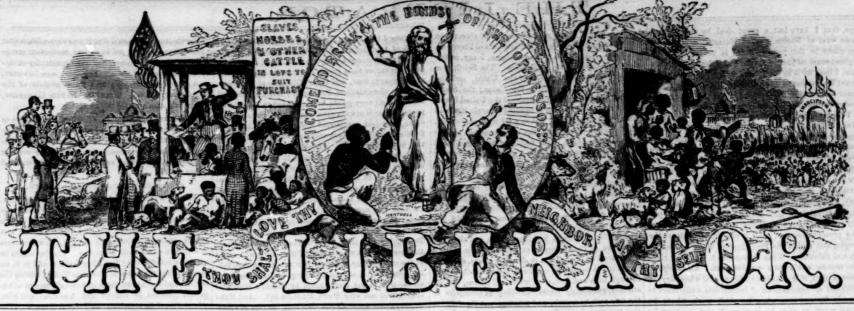
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relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed (POST PAID), to the General Agent. Advertisements of a square and over inserted three sat ten cents per line ; less than a square, \$1.50 for Yearly and half yearly advertisements rted on reasonable terms.

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TM LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



the inhabitants thereof." "I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that mil-

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all

itary authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, CIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, CIVIL, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERPRES with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or de-stroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a wa-power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of insurrection, Congress has power to cany on the war, and MUST CARRY IT GR, ACconding to the Laws of wan ; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to eman-cipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."-J. Q. Adams.

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

VOL. XXXV. NO. 6.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1865.

WHOLE NO. 1775.

The Liberator.

YASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. ANNUAL MEETING.

Phonographically reported by Jas. M. W. YERRINTON.

THURSDAY, Jan. 26.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ. Thave a series of resolutions, containing the substance of what I want to say this morning, and hough the Business Committee has not yet had a neeting to act upon them, I will read them, and they an be afterwards acted upon. The previous reading them will, I think, enable the hearer to understand ere distinctly the ground and object of all I have to say at these meetings of the Society. My own inion is, that the 8th day of November closed the eerd up to that day. We need have no criticism on satters which took place before. In our judgments men we differ, but our business is with facts of ational action. As abolitionists, we shall probably more agree in our judgment of individuals than e sects agree in their creeds, no matter how long how patiently we may argue such questions. But our sessions have any purpose or utility, it must sist in the expression of an anti-slavery opinion a regard to the facts now taking place in American vil life; and my judgment is, that the great duty of itionists at this time is to record their opinion as such facts; otherwise, there seems to be no mean-

These resolutions were published last week.]

These resolutions seem to me to cover all we need to say of the present position of public affairs. The future just opening upon us has one question for aboonists, and that is, the terms of reconstruction The great danger in that future consists in three facis. The first is, that the prejudice against the neis not more than half eradicated from the North. econdly, that the Republican party, which has the remment in its control, is weakened in its princiby the very numbers which have rallied to its flag thirdly that the Executive pleads earnestly an immediate reconstruction of States, within the next

ecisive vote on questions of absolute justice to the negro-make the third-the wish of the Executive to construct under such circumstances-vitally important in an anti-slavery point of view. I have no soult any more than the most sanguine among us, that if the same pressure could be continued upon the vas discontent with the Executive. The Government has travelled from 1861 to 1864 not of its own vill. I do not regard it as having accomplished one single step self-moved. In every case, it has been bayenetted up to it by the pressure of outside public pinion-by a distinct intimation from almost every parter, and especially from abolitionists, that its urse and attitude were not satisfactory. On the outhern side, there was another element-war. As ing as that continued, it ripened the South and the North. It educated both parties. Our defeats eduated the Northern mind-our victories educated the Southern mind; and while this process went forward, there was no great fear that the Government would able to baulk the purposes which underlie the great civil convulsion. But the press and the general public have measurably discontinued, within the lasmonths, this critical pressure and rebuke of the attitude of the Administration. The public mind has largely settled down into the conviction that the estion is safe, somewhere—either in the purposes of the Executive or in the march of events, and conequently the press and the general public have largecontinued their criticisms. On the other hand then we look at the South, there is a battle going or side the Confederacy far more momentous in its in sence on our future than any battle Grant wil est between the statesmen of Georgia and Richmone to which shall lead the Confederacy. Vice Presi-knt Stephens, Gov. Brown, and the class of men thom they represent, are undoubtedly wearied with be efforts already made to establish independence, d satisfied that they have done enough. I do not ok upon them as having exhausted their means, or intimating that they have exhausted their means the contrary, even Sherman,-certainly a compe ent judge,-writing from Georgia itself on the 25th ay of October, two months after the victory at Atta, commences his letter with an observation of this and, which he repeats in another letter of the same "This war is only begun." Doubtless he meant see around me so many evidences of the means of finning the war, that, in a military point of view, begun." If any party at the South discon ane it, they discontinue it not of necessity, but of appear. Now, the Georgia plot, so to call it, to unthe Davis and throw him from the saddle, is a mo ous one as regards the anti-slavery issue. If they onquer, the idea of peace dominates in the Confed when that idea gets the helm of the Confeder peace will be made; no doubt of it, because the tole tone of the Republican party is peace, on some dition or other, shortly, from political and military cessities, as they judge. We were told in Wash-

2000, by a dozen members of the House, that if Sorth Carolina should knock at the door to-day, havcosen Senators and Representatives, and should by, "I wish to enter as I stand; I will discuss ela-

by when I have entered, but I submit to the flag-

admitted by acclamation." Such is the temper of

mit me!"-we were assured, I say, by half a do embers, "We could not take a vote; she would be

educated by thirty, or twenty years of political strugject; and their very honesty of purpose entitling them to influence, doubles their danger to us. They ism. Do not let us forget the history of the anti slawould deservedly influence politics, and control it, very struggle, and what it has taught us of the limitthrough the press and the Executive. They honestly ed authority and influence of the Federal Government believe to-day in the madness of immediate emanci- Every man of you, fifty years old, can remember the pation, and any scheme which repudiated it would experience of the Federal Government in 1831, when have their earnest sanction. Added to this is another the strongest power in the nation grappled with the element. The President has distinctly avowed to State of Georgia, and was defeated When Georgia the House Committee on Reconstruction-"I will seized a converted Cherokee, in 1831, and said, sign almost any bill on that subject which admits Lon- will hang him," Chief Justice Marshall said, "You isiana : I will sign no bill which does not admit her." In other words, he practically endorses the statement from Massachusetts Bay to the Mississippi and said of General Banks at the Tremont Temple, that the "You shall not; it is infamous." Where is there a reconstruction of Louisiana is the model which the stronger power than the Orthodox sects of the North Executive sets to the other States for the reconstruc- for a army and the Supreme Court for a general tion of civil government; because, in the first place, Congress denied the legality of the proceeding. this very avowal says to Congress, "It is safe thus to press of the country, ignorant and exultant, said, "It reconstruct Louisiana—reconstruct it"; and, second-ly, every man knows, that any one State which passes the doors of Congress will necessarily be the model put him in jail. Behind him stood the American Board

ng, no purpose in any meeting of the Massachusetts Slavery Society. It is with that view that I we prepared three or four resolutions :cluded from any privilege enjoyed by the first admitted State. When, therefore, Congress submits-as even Mr. Sumner is understood to say they must sub-The first element to which I adverted—the continuing prejudice against the negro-and the second-that mit, however reluctantly, in this single objectionable Republican party is not itself able to command a us, Judge Field has exhibited in one act its nature. all his ingenuity in the Cherokee case. The inter-A brutal, domineering, infamous overseer spirit, such locking of State and Federal authority is so complex, Administration which we have enjoyed hitherto, and we knew it before '60, its symbol the bowie-knife, which has made 1864 out of 1861, we should compel comes back to the House as the chosen representative, therty out of the present aspect of affairs. But that at the first blush, of the white men of Louisianapressure was composed of two elements. On the southern side it was war; on the Northern side it thority, a month ago, as really a rebel at the bottom heart as any one that treads the continent. of his That is the first harvest reaped in the hot enthusiasm of the hour, with every eye in the nation planted on the reconstruction. What element of the white race will follow? What class of men will hereafter come up to share authority with us, if this be their best But this is not, perhaps, the exact question for an

Abolitionist; it is the question for a citizen. We are sharing sovereignty with that white race; but to day I come here merely to criticise the attitude of that white race toward the negro. You will remember that today we have the power to protect the negro in New Orleans as perfectly as we have in the streets of Boston. The slightest fringe of his rights trampled upon, and the hand of Government can reach the offender as is aristocracy. The ballot in England is in the hands effectually in New Orleans as in State Street. That of some eight hundred thousand or a million of men is the attitude to day. How necessary is it that gov-ernment should enjoy that right? Look at Maryland justice. That is their philosophy of government, it is and see. Maryland accepted emancipation of her own not ours. Our philosophy of government, since the will; she voted it of her own will. It was not forced 4th day of July, 1776, is that no class is safe, no free upon her by conquest; by the act of the Federal Gov-ernment: it was accepted by her own citizens. If place in the hands of the man himself the power to prothere ever was a State, therefore, where the interest of the black race could be trusted to the fairness and good purpose of the white race, it was Maryland. What was the fact ? Twenty-four hours after that Proc. and know that the white man of the North, if he lamation of Gov. Bradford's, making the Constitution wished to, could not protect the negro of Louisians the law of the land, the whites of that State took up once put that State fence between them,-could not it a forgotten law, and proceeded with speedy and venge- he would, and I still believe would not if he could ful activity to put it into execution. Left alone a week, as I was assured in Baltimore, they would have had an abolitionist, under such a government, I fall back all the young colored persons so thoroughly appren-ticed that liberty to them would have been a sham for the next fifteen or twenty years. The courts were pation which does not put into the hands of the freed-powerless to oppose it. Gen. Wallace, of the United man himself the power to protect his newly-acquired States army, on the spot, issued his order superseding liberty. (Applause.) No emancipation is effectual every court in Maryland, as far as the negro was concerned. That order, withdrawn within a week at the argue it simply as a question of security, not of jus

actual possession of a State, holding it by the army, we can protect the negro; reconstruct a State, and where are we? Why, we have put up a fence between the Federal Government and the State Government. The bill before the House proposes, for instance, that South Carolina, with 300,000 white men, and not a loyalist among them, and 400,000 black men, and not a disloyalist among them, shall be reconstructed—the fonce excelled between us and them, the government of citizenskip how shall we expelled the provided of the state of citizenskip how shall we expelled the provided of the state of citizenskip how shall we expelled the provided of the state of citizenskip how shall we expelled the provided to the following them. fence erected between us and them, the government of the State given to these 300,000 rebels, and the when Sherman asked for Cot. Bowman, months ago, black men put under their feet helplessly. If we were in England, I should have no doubt and no fear, be-that day to this, though often repeatedly urged, no one Congress itself. But Congress, even in that mood of hind, recognizes and confesses that the wish for the

speediest reconstruction prevails in the White House, realm. By the Queen's Bench or the Privy Council, with tenfold the intensity that it does in its own body.

If, therefore, from any respectable portion of the scording to the will of Parliament. That is England, South, especially from a portion that had got control but that is not America. Put up the fence between of the Confederacy, an offer of peace should come, you and Louisiana or South Carolina, and the Federa there would undoubtedly be negotiations resulting in it; and every man who is acquainted with the state fled cases. Suppose (what is by no means certain) of public feeling even here knows, that if Georgia should ask to morrow to be admitted to this Union on the basis of freeing her slaves within ten years, or with the prohibition of chattel slavery, and an Abolitwenty years, every other man in the community would say, Amen! that two-thirds of the Republican wise! On the other side the State fence is Robert party would honestly say, Amen! For you must re- Small and Gov. Aiken. On this side is Salmon P member that the Republican party is not to-day com. Chase and the Federal Constitution. Why, if Gov posed of, certainly not ruled by, its original elements, Aiken has got any brains, he can grind Robert Small to powder in nine hundred and ninety-nine different gle. It consists, on the left hand, of a converted Dem- ways without trespassing on the anti-slavery amendocratic, on the right hand, of a converted Bell-Everett ment; and until he does, Salmon P. Chase cannot in section-men who "see men as trees walking," terfere. When I come to speak to you, in a moment have no definite conception of the necessities of the of Louisians, you will see that Banks has actually se question, no real experimental knowledge of the sub- them the example and given them the very method

cannot; it is unconstitutional." Orthodoxy rattied for every other; because, Louisiana once admitted as she stands, if Georgia or South Carolina comes up tomorrow, they will justly claim, "Give us the same the key on him, and there he lay, until, in her sover privileges and terms that you have accorded to Loui- eign will, she chose to open it. South Carolina took siana;" and every man acquainted with politics in our black seamen out of ships and put them in jail. general, or the state of parties in particular to-day, Winthrop even was lifted to manhood enough to prove knows that you could not rally a vote against such a it was illegal; the Secretary of State proved it was claim. Admit one State, and you fix the precedent; unconstitutional; Massachusetts protested; Congress every other State will deem itself injured if it is pre- protested; we sent Samuel Hoar down to say, "Wayward sister, why do you so?" "Go ho will put you in" was the answer. We had the Federal authority, the North, and the Constitution on our side, but they availed nothing. Texas took six of our instance, to the wishes of the President-when Con- black men and sold them, ten years ago, and we do gress submits to this reconstruction of Louisiana, it not know to-day where they are. Unconstitutional, establishes the principle underlying Louisiana as the alt of it; public opinion on our side largely at the North guide for future reconstruction. What is that princi-ple? I hardly need to examine it. Fortunately for

> We are to remember the history of the cause. I allow, of course, what every man knows, that all this time we had a pro-slavery public; we are to have an anti-slavery one, I hope, in the future ; but I want to bring to your minds, first, the almost impossibility, even with the Constitution on our side, of attacking a State, and then to remind you that the white men of the reconstructed States can keep inside the Constitution, be free from any legal criticism, and yet put the negro where no abolitionist would be willing to

Now, to my mind, an American abolitionist, when

he asks freedom for the negro, means effectual free dom, real freedom, something that can maintain and vindicate itself. I do not believe in an English freedom, that trusts the welfare of the dependent class the good will and moral sense of the upper class. This

request of the loyal men, because it had done its work, tice or of magnanimity. For a nation to ask a mar defeated the plot; but had he not been there, there to fight for them and then leave him without ful would have been no power competent to arrest that conspiracy, which our friend here [GEO. THOMPSON] man forswear all part in such a nation. (Loud ap knows was nothing but a literal repetition of what plause.) I have seen a letter from one of our ables was done in the West indies. Jamaica parallels our experience in every particular. I remember when I was in England in 1841, the delegates from Jamaica ing the negroes to fight. I do not believe in universal told me exactly the same story that the loyal men of suffrage nor in universal freedom. I believe that this Baltimore did last month.

That is the white race, in the best circumstances, fight it. But," he says, "if the white man chooses to at the commencement. As I say, while we are in give himself to trade, and let the negro fight the batactual possession of a State, holding it by the army, tle, the hand that defends the country has a right to

what no soldier had done before, had he gathered the of patriots and captains. But instead of that, with deliberate infamy, he paused at the end of a causeway mile long, let the white men pass, and held back the negroes who had brought him horses, food, information, and then tore up the bridge, and stood by while rebel cavalry shot that mass of friends down as The proudest action of the war is covered over with stance, under any plea of military strategy or necessity, where a white man seeking our lines, in the whole four years, has been hurled back on the bayonets of the enemy, and our men stood by and saw him shot down, and I will grant some excuse, some plausible apology for this infamous butchery by the first military genius of the white race. I know, of course, in whose immediate presence and by whose immediate order the act was done, but as you do not seek out the name of the soldier who actually tore up the dered the act, so I go farther and hold the head of the whole expedition, Sherman, responsible. Any mark-

will say to one who murders them. the rebel States. But in examining this matter, I promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope." in that speech to make me repudiate Louisiana. War Department, when I recollect that it is but a month since they rectified that infamous injustice. the men whose comrades had died under the very mouths of the enemy's cannon had a flag unmarked while so many a white man flaunted his lie in their faces, and the Government at Washington, indifferent and heartless, permitted this injustice. But, as I say, I accept the acknowledgments of Gen. Banks in call the freedom of Louisiana is "Banks's freedom,

for one, do not accept it. In that speech, Gen. Banks himself describes his system as one planned "to prepare the negro for as perfect an independence as that enjoyed by any other stamps its contempt on any preparation of the negro for justice. (Loud applause.) If there is anything pa- magnanimity and necessity; the only pathway to tent on the whole history of our thirty years' struggle, safety and empire. it is that the negro no more needs to be prepared for I believe, friends, that there is more hope of safety liberty than the white man. (Applause.) Yet Gen. to us in Richmond to-day than there is in Washing Banks begins his speech by saying he has initiated a ton, because, as I said, speaking of the struggle with system to prepare the negro for liberty! He then in the Confederacy, if Jefferson Davis keeps the saddle. goes on to say, that in the State of Louisiana, the ne- he continues the war, and will clean this continue gro is not allowed to make a contract. Now, I try from St. Louis to St. Augustine, free every black him in two ways. He says neither the negro nor yes, give him a patent of nobility, before he will yield any laboring man in Louisiana can be allowed to to the Yankee; and that process will educate us. Do make a contract. If he is sincere, why hasn't he not let us be wanting to the grand signs with which put the white laborer as well as the black under Providence beckons us forward. Whoever supposed his Provost Marshal! (Applause.) If his princi- he would live to see such an hour as we see to day ple is a correct one, his law should be, "No laboring man in Louisiana shall fix the rate of his own hand full of fetters for the black, on which he had write wages, fix the term of his own contract, leave ten "forever." To day, he sits in Richmond with pale the spot where he has agreed to labor,"—but there is no such rule. Gen. Banks, having laid down the principle that no laboring man is able to make a conthanked!"] He might be painted to-day kneeling at tract in Lousians, proceeds to do-what? To settle the very feet of the negro, begging help or aghast at that no black man shall make a contract! Show-the gulf which yawns beneath, and no hand but that

The Abolitionists, asking for bread-Emancipation-

day to this, the Executive at Washington has not answered, though urged even by Maryland to do it. They left him to sully the noblest schievement of the war by the most infamous act that ever disgraced a nation. When he swept across the continect, doing from plantation to plantation, arrived late in the afternoon, took a bath, a dinner, a bottle of madeira, only help he got, the black man, into his ranks, his went to bed, got up late, breakfasted with his host, star would have taken its place in the highest galaxy and then coolly sat down on the piazza to hear wha the negroes had to say. The negro never got any justice, of course. In the same way, Gen. Banks ha set up what he calls a Provost Marshal. He has the American ingenuity as to phrases. It is not a magis trate, it is not a justice. You know we have never had slavery. Years ago, we had "the domestic insti they would a herd of buffaloes. (Cries of "Shame.") tution"; then we had the "peculiar institution"; then "the patriarchal institution"; then a Methodist Bisho a blot sufficient to make any American unwilling to was requested not to get rid of his slaves, bu name it as done by his countrymen. Show me an in- to get rid of his "impediment." (Laughter.) Mr Choate, when in his last years he canvassed Massachusetts, said, not slavery, "but antago-nistic system of labor." So Gen. Banks organizes labor, sets up a Provost Marshal,-a very innocen military officer,-who visits the white man, dines sups, sleeps, gets up in the morning, and listens, a arms' length, to the complaints of the freedman. Wha chance of justice has he ! His wages having been originally fixed by that Provost Marshal and the em ployer, without any voice of his, any difference bridge, but visit your rebuke on this Davis who or- is referred to the Provost Marshal; and practically necessarily, though not included in the ostensible sy tem, behind the Provost Marshal stands the lash. I ed act in that march which he has not censured, he have here the letter of a New England Brigadier must be held to have endorsed and approved. This General stating that to his knowledge, the freedmen niamy is too monstrous for our indignation to be satis- are whipped. I have in my own ears the confession fied, grovelling down among petty underlings, like this Jefferson C. Davis. I hold Sherman responsible diers to see it done; and we have the statement, in since he has endorsed it by silence. If the Adminis- Col. McKny's report, that whipping was undoubtedly tration remains silent, then I hold President Lincoln and Mr. Secretary Stanton the real murderers. They "organization of labor." Thus Gen. Banks hands can hasten fast enough to relieve a General who spares over the black man to the white race in Louisians the lives of his soldiers; we wait to see what they and then Mr. Lincoln insists that that State shall be admitted as a representative State, with two Senator Some of these resolutions refer to Louisiana, to to balance New York, and five Representatives to bal which I was coming in my argument. The Presi- ance Connecticut. By all the record of thirty years, dent offers it to us as an initial reconstruction. We I protest. By every principle held sacred in the may see what sort of freedom, therefore, we are to anti-slavery discussions of a quarter of a century, I hope for if the black man be left to the tender mer- protest against accepting that bastard as a true son of cies either of a Major General or of the white men of the rebellion. (Applause.) Louisiana is "keeping the shall rely almost exclusively on the speech of Gen. sacrificing the very essence of the negro's liberty to Banks at Tremont Temple. I take that not because the desire for a prompt reconstruction. I do not be I think Gen. Banks's statement to be any evidence whatever of the truth of what he says, but because I find enough admitted and claimed for merit by him struct them of white men. This generation never wil have their minds changed to that extent that they can Thoroughly untrustworthy in regard to the whole be trusted. I said to one of the Provost Marshals of question of Louisiana, only a brain thrice sodden North Carolina,-the most Union State of all, it is would accept Banks's evidence on any point relating said,—"How much Unionism is there in North Carolito the segro. A Major General, born in Massachuna?" "Well," said he, "when a man is half whipped setts, graduated by three years of such a war as this, and thoroughly starved, he is a very good Unionist, who could say to the black regiment of Louisiana, No doubt he is. The white race is no fit timber to which had left half its number under the mouths of build States with, and looking at the question as the enemy's cannon, when it asked to put "Port Hudson" on its flag, "No," while he permitted a because we have no other timber to build States white regiment, doing picket duty two miles off, so to with, and unless we build with him, we must postpone inscribe their banner, is no fit witness where the ne. reconstruction for so many years that the very patrongro is concerned. (Applause.) I refuse him all right age of territorial governments would swamp Republi o testify; and I visit the same criticism even on the can institutions. Keep them territories, let the Democracy come in in eight years or four, with the money power of this banking system in one hand and territo Week after week, month after month went by, and rial governments in the other, and Republican Gov ernment will be almost a farce. God gives us but one bridge over the pit, like the line of the Mahomedat legend, fine as a spider's web. Step one single iota to the right or left of absolute justice, and the nation is it the pit. (Applause.) All that the negro needs, and all that belongs to him, is the indispensable necessity this speech as sufficient for my purpose. What you of the white race, as well as justice to him. I con tend, therefore, that what the anti slavery cause needs and it is no freedom for me. The English, in 1834, to-day is the most indignant protest against "Banks's called their apprenticeship system, "Stanley free-dom;" they replaced it soon by something better. liberty" in Louisiana, a most indignant repudiation of the acceptance of such a State by Congress on ever are presented with a stone—"Banks's freedom." I, ground, unless we would lose half the fruits of the re bellion. A Government color-blind; no distinction of race in the camp or the senate; the negro entitled vote and to be voted for: to fight with rifle in hand or to order the battle with stars on his shoulders The anti-slavery agitation of shirty years stars and office for the heart, brain and hand that ca win and wield them. This is at once justice, fair play

ing the sham of the original principle. What he of the black to save him. Such a change no other means, practically, is, "no laboring negro shall make page of history shows us. God has given it to us, the glorious result of battle in the South, and as keen We never shall have a nation until it is governed struggle in Northern thought and purpose here. I se by one idea. The idea of Massachusetts liberty is it as my friend [Mr. May] does, but what I demand MANHOOD; a human being, not an artificial being; of him is, that in the future as in the past, he shall a thing created by God, not by law. The Southern give us that same keen criticism which has made idea of liberty has been a white race lifted into posi- 1865 out of 1861, which has bent Jefferson Davis to tion by law, and a black race thrust down into its position by law. The idea of Massachusetts liberty is, a man competent to sell his own toll, to select his own work, and when he differs with his neighbor, a Fort Wagner,—the negro on our side,—will shudder own work, and when he differs with his neighbor, a jury to appeal to. My will at the beginning of the road, and a jury at the end. That is liberty, according to the Northern interpretation. Gen. Banks's liberty for we shall confess "the negro will fight," not in the choose his toil, practically no right; having once chosen his place, no right to quit it; any difference consents the negro is, no right to quit it; any difference wholesome terror and common sense. (Applause.) Yes, it is war at the South, and as keen a war betwixt between employed and employer tried by a Provost the Abolitionists of the North and the political policy Marshal, not a jury. History always repeats itself- which governs the Republican party, on which I base

tory. As Napoleon said, it is the last fifteen minutes and the last regiment which decide which army beats. I know, as my friends do, how much has been done. Just so the soldier in front of Richmond today knows exactly how much has been done. He can count Chattanooga and Gettysburg, Antietam, and Petersburg, and the Wilderness, and cry exultingly to Grant, "How much!" But suppose he should fold his arms, and say, "Lieutenant General, we have done so much that I am going home, and shall leave you to consummate the victory, solitary and alone, over Richmond," should we think that "policy "? It seems to me some of our anti-slavery friends stand today counting up success after success, created solely by the anti-slavery bayonet thrust into the White House, and having finished the list, they say, " Let us fold our arms, cry great is the Republican party, and trust Abraham Lincoln to consummate a perfect victory." Will Grant, even with all his past successes, make Richmond capitulate without an army! Just as soon as the Republican party can subjugate the slavocracy without our searching criticism and constant demand, "Onward! Justice, absolute justice, forthwith and forever!" To-day the balance hangs. Who are to gain or lose ? Don't think that I exaggerate the problem. We have not measured "the job." More than half of it remains in front to day. The fault of the American mind from the commencement has been in not probing and measuring the vastness of the work. Some two years ago, McCiellan summoned Sherman to his side and said, " How many men will it take to hold Tennessee?" "Two hundred thousand," said Sherman. "Madness," said the "young Napoleon." (Laughter.) "Insanity. You are a fanatic: it won't take thirty thousand"; and he banished the fanatic west of the Mississippi, to take charge of an Indian post. It has taken three hundred thousand men to hold Tennessee ;-the banished fanatic has swept across the continent and snuffs the breezes of the Atlantic, with conquered States for a retinue, while the young Napoleon has gone to study engineering in a foreign land! (Loud applause.) To-day there is an opinion similar to McClellan's-that the future is so near, so ready for our grasp, that we can afford to relax our efforts, disband, muster out, and trust the Generals and Senators to negotiate the victory. That is McClellan, thinking that Tennessee could be held with a handful. In time, I think you will realize that the fanaticism which is to grasp both ends of the continent is that which measures to-day, with anxiety, the severity of the trial and the vastness of the work be fore us. (Loud applause.)

SPEECH OF GEO. THOMPSON, ESQ.

Mr. President and Friends :- Were it not that my name has been announced as one of those who are to address you at this morning's meeting, I should resist any importunity to present myself to your attention As it is, I shall crave at your hands permission to defer to some future session the remarks I may desire offer on the present aspect of your national affaire, in

relation to the question of slavery.

It affords me unspeakable satisfaction to be able to express my all but unqualified approbation of the resolutions which have been submitted by my friend Mr. Phillips, and also of the observations he has made upon them. (Applause.) If my approbation is slightly qualified, it is simply with respect to those parts of my triend's address in which he criticises the administration of a certain high functionary, charged with the conduct of affairs in a remote State, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty. I do not say those criticisms are too harsh, or are undeserved, but that I do not feel myself competent, at present, to pronounce judgment in the matter. When, however, my friend calls upon you, as he does in his first resolution, to so knowledge with devout thankfulness the marvelous triumphs of the anti-slavery principle throughout the United States, I ask the privilege of blending my tribute of gratitude with yours, to the great Disposer of events for His interference in your behalf, and for His having so ordered those events as to cause them to work in the direction of your national redemption from the crime, the guilt, and curse of slavery. With equal cordiality can I echo everything which he has said intended to incite you to vigilance, union, firmness and uncompromising fidelity in this the last stage and crisis of the great conflict in which you have been engaged with the hosts of oppression for more than thirty years. Think nothing done while any thing remains to be accomplished, but carry on the holy war until it is brought to a final and everlasting end. (Applause.)

With Mr. Phillips, I would arge you to take warning by the conduct of England in the matter of negro apprenticeship. Consent to no measure that shall leave the negro half a slave and half a freeman. (Applause.) Let your battle-cry to the last be "Immediate, unconditional, absolute Emancipation." Exother human being, here or anywhere, requires to be, or can be, prepared for personal freedom. The use of freedom can only be learnt by its possession, and is the right and heritage of every man. (Applause.) I unite with my friend when he says that, if to recapitulate the triumphs which have been achieved thus speeches, we should but waste words. Nevertheless, during the last twelve months, I have been constantly addressing public addiences in this country, and in all my speeches have deemed it my duty to count up and exhibit the solid gains which have accrued to the cause of liberty during the present war, and the contemporaneous revolution in the sentiments of the peo-ple; but at the same time, I have insisted upon the duty growing out of past successes to press forward until not only shall slavery be abolished, but the vile distinctions founded upon complexional difference utterly obliterated. (Applause.)

I therefore agree with Mr. Phillips that your Con stitution needs two amendments: one prohibiting slavery everywhere throughout the Union, and another forbidding the States to enact laws which shall make any distinction among their citizens on account of race or color. Let your Constitution be so amended that it shall, for all time to come, be the rule, the principle, the fundamental law of this Repu

established. (Loud applause.) There is, then, you myself and the honored friend by whom I have been preceded; none, if the counts upon which he has arraigned the administration of Gen. Banks can be sus enter. I leave Gen. Banks to Mr. Phillips, to the Gov-Let me, however, express my gratification that so much that is really good, and about which there is and can be no diversity of opinion, has been done in Lou-isiana; that slavery has been abolished and freedom proclaimed; that schools have been established; that a new order of things has been inaugurated; and that we have seen and heard on this platform, to-day, singing the songs of freedom, and waving the banner o Union, the first fruits of that glorious harves which shall ere long be reaped in the form of univer sal liberty. (Applause.) If, standing as we do to-day upon the threshold of entire emancipation, we are about to see the prohibition of slavery in this country made a part of the Constitution, it is certainly the duty of those who call themselves Abolitionists to see that they are not cheated out of any portion of that freedom which they design to confer upon the slave. Thirty-two years ago, at my first meeting with Mr. Garrison in England, he paid me the compliment of saying that he perfectly sympathized with me in the efforts I was then making to induce the people of Great Britain to repudiate the system of apprenticeship which was unppily made a part of the abolition act of 1833. In consenting to that measure, the friends of the negro, as I have always thought, not only compromised their principles, but, as the result proved, fell into a fatal error. Mr. Phillips was guilty of no exaggeration in the picture which he drew of the courts of justice, so called, in Jamaica and other West India colonies, during the existence of that bastard system, that mockery of freedom, called "apprenticeship"-a system it some respects worse than slavery itself-a system so hateful, oppressive and cruel, that the British nation had to be aroused to a second effort for the purpose o effecting its overthrow. I trust no similar blunder will be committed here. Let full justice be done, and at once; let the negro be made free; let him be clothed with the rights that will enable him to protect himself; and thus will be avoided those difficulties. complications and miseries which would not fail to fol low from the adoption of any system short of entire and absolute emancipation. (Applause.) Members of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, accept my heartfelt congratulations upon the mighty change which have taken place since the period when it was my honor to be first associated with you !- changes so vast in their magnitude, so endless in their issues, so beneficent in their consequences, that words fail to express their importance. This day you behold the fruit of your labors ; to-day America endorses, to their full extent, the principles you have for more than thirty years promulgated. At last, the nation is awakened to a sense of the danger, the criminality and the shame of slavery. What remains, but that you gather up your strength, that you gird up the loins of your mind, and that you press forward until the nation ratifles by

principles for which you have been contending? I cannot sit down without offering to my friend present, whose complexion identifies them with tha portion of the American people who have been so long the victims of prejudice, proscription and slavery, my congratulations upon the great change which h already been effected in their condition; and upon the altered status which I believe they will soon occupy amongst the citizens of this country. In your behalf my friends, I hail the brightening prospect. I offer my congratulations to my eloquent friend, and former as sociate, Frederick Douglass, whom I see presen amongst us this morning. (Loud applause.) a him that Maryland, the State where he was orn; the State under whose laws he was held as a slave; the State from which he fled to the free soil of Massachusetts, is to-day A FREE STATE, and that tive slave to come amongst them, and lift up that wondrous voice which, for twenty years past, has been uttering in thunder-tones its denunciations of the foul wrong of slavery. (Applause.) I congratulate my colored friends, that to-day two millions of their once enslaved race are free; that the United States army contains two hundred thousand brave men, who, in stead of lifting the hoe in the field for tyrant-masters, are wielding the sword in the cause of their own lit erty, and the defence of a common nationality. Mr. President, it cannot be that the race who have fur nished so many devoted warriors, who have displayed such matchless bravery in the face of your country's enemies, can ever again be reduced to that condition of degradation in which, to the shame of this country they have hitherto been held. (Applause.)

its acts, and establishes by its Constitution, the sacre

The signs of the times are indeed encouraging they all point to the fruition and consummation o our labors and our hopes. Let us not, however, lay down our arms, or slacken our exertions. Let us hold fast whereunto we have attained, and press onward to the goal. The people must not leave this matter to be decided wholly by the events of the war. or by the deliberations of politicians, or according to the theory of statesmen, or by the decisions of Cabi ould they do so, then, alas! for the negro Not that I fear in regard to his personal liberty; for that, I believe, is assured. The fetters that have bound his limbs will, I believe, be broken; but we demand for him a higher liberty, a liberty from all those disabilities and degrading distinctions to which his race have heretofore been subjected. (Applause.) We wish his personal liberty to be the means to ar end. The negro was a chattel, he is to be a man and we require that the man should be made a citizen and that, in possession of the full rights and franchise of an American, he should be able to defend his man d and assert his equality. (Applause.)

Mr. President and friends, I now yield the floor I thank you for permitting me to be heard to this ex tent. I leave the further discussion of these important resolutions in abler hands, and shall rema amongst you a quiet but interested listener to the re marks of better men.

SPEECH OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

Mr. President .- I have not heard the resolution read, but I have listened to the speeches of Mr. Phillips and Mr. Thompson, and I do not feel, at this time. like entering into the discussion of the questions which I suppose, from these speeches, to be involved in the resolutions. I came here, as I come always to the meetings in New England, as a listener, and pol as a speaker; and one of the reasons why I have not been more frequently to the meetings of this Society has been because of the disposition on the part of some of my friends to call me out upon the platform even when they knew that there was some difference of opinion and of feeling between those who rightful-y belong to this platform and myself; and for fear of eing misconstrued, as desiring to interrupt or dis turb the proceedings of these meetings, I have usually kept away, and have thus been deprived of that ducating influence, which I am always free to confess is of the highest order, descending from this platm. I have felt, since I have lived out West, the in going there, I parted from a great deal that was valuable; and I feel, every time I come to these meetings, that I have lost a great deal by making my this war, which began in the interest of slavery or anywhere in the country there is to be found the both sides. (Applause.) It was begun, I say, in the highest sense of justice, or the truest demands for my ablest discussions of the whole question of our rights North fighting to keep it in the Union; the South occur here, and to be deprived of the privilege of lis- fighting to get it beyond the limits of the United States

tening to those discussions is a great deprivation. I do not know, from what has been said, that there s any difference of opinion as to the duty of aboli- and the North fighting for the old guarantees; -- bot Mr. Phillips, and with almost every word uttered by Mr. Thompson. How can we get up any difference at this point, or at any point, where than we did. When Seward said the status of no we are so united, so agreed? I went especially, how-ever, with that word of Mr. Phillips to which, if to negro did not believe him. (Applause.) When our any, exception was taken by Mr. Thompson, and that generals sent their underlings in sho is, the criticism of Gen. Banks and Gen. Banks's policy. I hold that that policy is our chief danger at jaws of slavery from which he had escaped, the negroe the present moment: that it practically enslaves the negro, and makes the Proclamation of 1863 a mockery and delusion. What is freedom ! It is the right understood by our officers in shoulder-straps, and the to choose one's own employment. Certainly, it means that, if it means anything; and when any individual or combination of individuals undertakes to decide for any man when he shall work, where he shall work, at what he shall work, and for what he shall work, he or they practically reduce him to slavery. (Applause.) He is a slave. That I understand Gen. Banks to do-to determine for the so-called freedman when, and where, and at what, and for how much he shall work, when he shall be punished, and by whom punished. It is absolute slavery. It defeats the beneficent intentions of the government, if it has beneficent intentions, in regard to the freedom of our

I have had but one idea for the last three years to present to the American people, and the phraseology in which I clothe it is the old abolition phraseology. I am for the "immediate, unconditional and universal" enfranchisement of the black man, in every his liberty is a mockery; without this, you might as dodge. It has been made available for oppression on well almost retain the old name of slavers for his condition; for, in fact, if he is not the slave of the indi- since the blue-eyed and fair-haired Anglo-Saxons vidual master, he is the slave of society, and holds his were considered inferior by the haughty Normans liberty as a privilege, not as a right. He is at the mercy of the mob, and has no means of protecting

It may be objected, however, that this pressing of the negroes right to suffrage is premature. Let us found in the highways and byways of old England have slavery abolished, it may be said, let us have laboring with a brass collar on his neck, and the nan labor organized, and then, in the natural course of of his master marked upon it. You were down then events, the right of suffrage will be extended to the ne. (Laughter and applause.) You are up now. I an gro. I do not agree with this. The constitution of glad you are up, and I want you to be glad to help us the human mind is such, that if it once disregards up also. (Applause.) the conviction forced upon it by a revelation of truth. it requires the exercise of a higher power to produce have said; for wherever men oppress their fellows he same conviction afterwards. The American peo- wherever they enslave them, they will endeavor ple are now in tears. The Shenandoah has run blood to find the needed apology for such enslavement the best blood of the North. All around Richmond and oppression in the character of the people opthe blood of New England and of the North has been pressed and enslaved. When we wanted, a fee shed-of your sons, your brothers, and your fathers. years ago, a slice of Mexico, it was hinted that the We all feel, in the existence of this rebellion, that Mexicans were an inferior race that the old Castilian indgments terrible, wide-spread, far-reaching, overshelming, are abroad in the land; and we feel, in down hill, and that Mexico needed the long, strong view of these judgments, just now, a disposition to and beneficent arm of the Anglo-Saxon care extended learn righteousness. This is the hour. Our streets over it. We said that it was necessary to its salvation, re in mourning, tears are falling at every fireside, and a part of the "manifest destiny" of this Republic and under the chastisement of this rebellion, we to extend our arm over that dilapidated government have almost come up to the point of conceding this great, this all-important right of suffrage. I fear that part of the Ottoman Empire, the Turks were "an if we fail to do it now, if Abolitionists fail to press it now, we may not see, for centuries to come, the same the heel of her power more firmly in the quivering disposition that exists at this moment. (Applause.) heart of old Ireland, the Celts are "an inferior race Hence, I say, now is the time to press this right. It may be asked, "Why do you want it? Some

en have got along very well without it. Women

have not this right." Shall we justify one wrong by know enough to be hung, we know enough to vote another? That is a sufficient answer. Shall we at If the negro knows enough to pay taxes to support this moment justify the deprivation of the negro of the right to vote because some one else is deprived of that and representation should go together. If he knows privilege? I hold that women as well as men have enough to shoulder a musket and fight for the flag. he right to vote, (applause,) and my heart and my voice go with the movement to extend suffrage to woman. But that question rests upon another basis than knows when drunk, he knows enough to vote, on good that on which our right rests. say, why we want it. I will tell you why we want it. We want it because it is our right, first of all. (Aprights. We want it again, as a means for educating our race. Men are so constituted that they derive the estimate formed of them by others. If nothing is expected of a people, that people will find it difficult | ure essential to the preservation of peace there. ourselves, and to feel that we have no possibilities like I hold that the American Government has taken upo ernment, based upon a peculiar idea, and that idea is or let it cost little,—that this war shall not cease unti universal suffrage. If I were in a monarchical gov- every freedman at the South has the right to vote ernment, or an autocratic or aristocratic Government, (Applause.) It has bound itself to do it. there would be no special stigma resting upon me be-cause I did not exercise the elective franchise. It them to incur the deadly enmity of their masters, in would do me no great violence. Mingling with the order to befriend you and to befriend this government mass, I should partake of the strength of the mass; I You have asked us to call down, not only upon our should be supported by the mass, and I should have selves, but upon our children's children, the deadly rage is the rule, where that is the fundamental idea the South and in favor of the of the government, to rule us out is to make us an the Confederacy and uphold the flag-the American exception, to brand us with the stigma of inferiority,

There are, however, other reasons, not derived from of the condition of the South and of the country- of your banner in the South, and incurred the lasting Mr. Phillips—considerations which must arrest the attention of statesnien. I believe that when the tall mean to give your enemies the right to vote, and take Tombses and Stephenses, and others who are leading in this rebellion shall have been blotted out, there will think you will see to it that we have the right to vote be this rank undergrowth of treason, to which refer. There is something too mean in looking upon the ence has been made, growing up there, and interfering Government in those States. You will see those traitors handing down from sire to son the same malignant spirit which they have manifested and which they are now exhibiting, with malicious hearts, broad blades and bloody hands in the field, against our sons and That spirit will still remain : and whoever sees the Federal Government extended over those uthern States will see that government in a strange land, and not only in a strange land, but in an enemy's land. A postmaster of the United States in the South will find himself surrounded by a hostile spirit; a collector in a Southern port will find himself surround. In time of trouble we are citizens. Shall we be citied by a hostile spirit; a United States marshal or zens in war, and aliens in peace? Would that be United States judge will be surrounded there by a just? hostile element. That enmity will not die out in a | I ask my friends who are apologizing for not in year, will not die out in an age. The Federal Gov- sisting upon this right, where can the black man look ernment will be looked upon in those States precisely in this country for the assertion of this right if he may as the governments of Austria and France are looked upon in Italy af the present moment. They will en- Where under the whole heavens can be look for sym deavor to circumvent, they will endeavor to destroy pathy in asserting this right if he may not look to this the peaceful operation of this government. Now, where platform? Have you lifted us up to a certain height will you find the strength to counterbalance this spirit, to see that we are men, and then are any disposed if you do not find it in the negroes of the South? to leave us there, without seeing that we are put in They are your friends, and have always been your possession of all our rights? We look naturally friends. They were your friends even when the Goy- this platform for the assertion of all our rights, and for

interest of slavery, on both sides. The South was fighting to take slavery out of the Union, and the Constitution, and the North fighting to retain it with those limits: the South fighting for new guarantee despising the negro, both insulting the negro. Yet the negro, apparently endowed with wisdom from older-straps to hunt the flying negro back from our lines into the thought that a mistake had been made, and that the intentions of the Government had not been rightly continued to come into our lines, threading their way through bogs and fens, over briars and the streams, swimming rivers, bringing us tidings as the safe path to march, and pointing out the dangers that threatened us. They are our only friends in the South, and we should be true to them in this their trial hour, and see to it that they have the elective

I know that we are inferior to you in sor things-virtually inferior. We walk about amor you like dwarfs among giants. Our heads are scarce ly seen above the great sea of humanity. The Ge mans are superior to us; the Irish are superior to us the Yankees are superior to us (laughter); they can do what we cannot, that is, what we have not hith erto been allowed to do. But, while I make this ad mission, I utterly deny that we are originally, or naturally, or practically, or in any way, or in any im portant sense, inferior to anybody on this globe State in the Union. (Loud applause.) Without this, (Loud applause.) This charge of inferiority is an old on many occasions. It is only about six centuries who once trampled upon them. If you read the history of the Norman Conquest, you will find that this proud Anglo-Saxon was once looked upon as o coarser clay than his Norman master, and might b

> The story of our inferiority is an old dodge, as blood had become so weak that it would scarcely run So too when Russia wanted to take possession of a inferior race." So, too, when England wants to se So, too, the negro, when he is to be robbed of an right which is justly his, is "an inferior man." said that we are ignorant; I admit it. But if w the Government, he knows enough to vote-taxation fight for the Government, he knows enought to vote If he knows as much when he is sober as an Irishman We may be asked, I American principles. (Laughter and applause.)

But I was saying that you needed a counterpois in the persons of the slaves to the enmity that would plause.) No class of men can, without insulting their exist at the South after the rebellion is put dewn. I wn nature, be content with any deprivation of their hold that the American people are bound, not only in self-defence, to extend this right to the freednen of the South, but they are bound by their love of coun heir conviction of their own possibilities largely from try and by all their regard for the future safety of those Southern States to do this-to do it as a measto contradict that expectation. By depriving us of I will not dwell upon this. I put it to the American judgment respecting public men and public measures; tant thing. It is said in the Scriptures, "What doth you declare before the world that we are unfit to exer- it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and lose his sise the elective franchise, and by this means lead us own soul !" It may be said also, what doth it profit o undervalue ourselves, to put a low estimate upon a nation if it gain the whole world, but lose its honor other men. Again, I want the elective franchise, for itself a solemn obligation of honor to see that this one, as a colored man, because ours is a peculiar gov- war, let it be long or let it be short, let it cost much, where the few bore rule and the many were subject, you asked the black men of the South, the black men the same incentives to endeavor with the mass of my hate of the entire Southern people. You have called fellow-men; it would be no particular burden, no par-ticular deprivation. But here, where universal suf-don their cause and espouse yours; to turn against flag. You have called upon us to expose ourselves to and to invite to our heads the missiles of those about all the subtle machinations of their malignity for all us. Therefore I want the franchise for the black time. And now, what do you propose to do when you come to make peace ? To reward your enemies, and trample in the dust your friends? Do you intend to any consideration merely of our rights, but arising out sacrifice the very men who have come to the rescue onsiderations which have already been referred to by displeasure of their masters thereby? Do you intend neads of this rebellion shall have been swept down, as it away from your friends? Is that wise policy? Is they will be swept down, when the Davises and that honorable? Could American honor withstand such a blow? I do not believe you will do it. I negro when your are in trouble as a citizen, and when with and thwarting the quiet operation of the Federal you are free from trouble as an alien. When this na tion was in trouble, in its early struggles, it looked upon the negro as a citizen. In 1776, he was a citizen. old thirteen. In your trouble you have made us citizens. In 1812, Gen. Jackson addressed us as citizens, "fellow-citizens." He wanted us to fight. We wer citizens then! And now, when you come to frame a conscription bill, the negro is a citizen again. He has been a citizen just three times in the history of this government, and it has always been in time of trouble.

not look to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society ernment did not regard them as such. They comprehended the genius of this war before you did. It is a significant fact, it is a marvellous fact, it seems almost to imply a direct interposition of Providence, that

understood here. I am not asking for sympathy at the hands of Abolitionists, sympathy at the bands of any. I think the American people are disposed often to be gling for the ascendancy, had the opportunity of be generous rather than just. I look over this country at the present time, and I see Educational Societies Sanitary Commissions, Freedmen's Associations, and the like,-all very good; but in regard to the colored people, there is always more that is benevolent. I pereive, than just, manifested towards us. What I ask for the negro is not benevolence, not pity, not sympathy, but simply justice. (Applause.) The American people have always been anxious to know what they shall do with us. Gen. Banks was distressed with olicitude as to what he should do with the negro Everybody has asked the question, and they learned to ask it early of the abolitionists: "What shall w do with the negro?" I have had but one answer from the beginning. Do nothing with us! Your doing with us has already played the mischief with us Do nothing with us! If the applea will not remain on the tree of their own strength, if they are worm-eaten it the core, if they are early ripe and disposed to fall let them fall! I am not for tying or fastening them on the tree in any way, except by nature's plan, and f they will not stay there, let them fall. And if the negro cannot stand on his own legs, let him fall also. All I ask is, give him a chance to stand on his own legs! Let him alone! If you see him on his way to chool, let him alone,-don't disturb him ! If you see him going to the dinner table at a hotel, let him go! If you see him going to the ballot-box, let him alone !don't disturb him! (Applause.) If you see him going into a workshop, just let him alone,-your interference is doing him positive injury. Gen. Banks's is of a piece with this attempt to prop preparation " up the negro. Let him fall if he cannot stand alone If the negro cannot live by the line of eternal justice. so beautifully pictured to you in the illustration used by Mr. Phillips, the fault will not be yours, it will be His who made the negro, and established that line for his government. (Applause.) Let him live or die by that. If you will only untie his hands, and give im a chance, I think he will live. He will work as readily for himself as the white man. A great ancy to all the Heaven-attested principles enunciated many delusions have been swept away by this war. One was, that the negro would not work; he has proved his ability to work. Another was, that the negro would not fight; that he possessed only the most sheepish attributes of humanity; was a perfect lamb, or an "Uncle Tom;" disposed to take off his coat whenever required, fold his hands, and be whole generation of Anti-Slavery warning, expostuwhipped by any body who wanted to whip him :--but the war has proved that there is a great deal of human nature in the negro, and that he will fight, as Mr. Quincy, our President, said, in earlier days than these, "when there is a reasonable probability of his whipping anybody." (Laughter and applause.)

But here I am talking away, and taking up the time which belongs to others.

FREEDOM TRIUMPHANT! GRAND JUBILEE MEETING

IN THE MUSIC HALL. To Rejoice over the Amendment prohibiting Human Sla-

very in the United States forever.

SPEECHES OF HON. JOSIAH QUINCY, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, REV. DR. KIRK, AND MAL GEN BUTLER.

A large and brilliant audience were assembled in the Music Hall on Saturday evening last, to rejoice over the passage by Congress, and the ratification by the Legislatures of many of the States, of the Constitutional Amendment prohibiting Human Slavery in the United States hereafter and forever. The of the friends of freedom ever held in this city, and event in national history which had called it forth. The arrangements, in charge of a Committee of And brought out Israel from among them, with which Col. Albert J. Wright was Chairman, and Mr. strong hand, and with a stretched out arm: for his S. B. Stebbins Secretary, were excellently planned and admirably carried out. The Hall was for the occasion, in their usual style of elegance and good taste, by Messrs. Lamprell, Short and Marble, city decorators. Mrs. L. S. Frohock presided at the organ; the choral performances were under direction of Messrs. S. B. Ball, J. Q. Wetherbee and J. R. El-

Previous to the calling of the meeting to order. Mrs. Frohock executed a well-selected programme of sir, no man living better understands or more joyfully popular and national music, about half an hour in length, concluding with the "Hallelujah Chorus," after which Col. Wright came forward, and spoke as feeling of personal pride or exultation-God forbid follows :-

REMARKS OF COL. ALBERT J. WRIGHT. We have invited you here to give thanks and reage—the near completion of the work which was begun when our fathers, in 1776, declared to the world that "all men are created equal." The adoption of United States, by Congress, has been announced to us sooner than many of us had faith to expect, but we accept the announcement with humility, with joy, and with thanksgiving to God. In this, as in live, let the people recognize that Hand from which cometh every good and perfect gift. Let us be faithful to the high trust committed to this generation, and God will speed the right. The programme of exercises for the evening is in your hands. I had noned that I should be able to introcuce to you, as the President of the evening, His Excellency the Governor. His warm and generous spirit is in symouthy with the object for which we have recombled but I am sorry to be obliged to tell you that we cannot be favored with his bodily presence. A sudden indisosition compels him to deny us the anticipated pleas pro of listening to his volcanic eleguence. The next best person that I see here to perform the duties of the chair is the Hon. Josish Quincy, whom I introduce to you as President of the meeting.

Hon. Josiah Quincy rose, and called upon Rev. Rol ert C. Waterston to offer drayer. Mr. Waterston addressed the Throne of Grace in most eloquent and impressive words of thanksgiving for the accomplish ent of the great event which they were assembled to celebrate. The audience then joined in singing the hymn, "The morning light is breaking," after which Mr. Quincy briefly addressed the meeting.

REMARKS OF HON. JOSIAH QUINCY. I need not inform you that my appearance at this noment is entirely unexpected. I have been called mon at this late moment to preside. Yet I am most I stand here not on my own merits. I am here but doubt not, congratulating each other in a higher sphere on this great event. How great a cloud of witnesses, pioneers in the great cause of Anti-Slavery, tric impulse, to commemorate a radical change in the new stand around, beholding the accomplishment of Constitution of the United States—so radical that, Lundy, the Quaker pioneer, to whom Mr. Garrison owed his first promptings in the Anti-Slavery cause ; Elijah P. Lovejoy, the Anti-Slavery martyr of Alton, John Quincy Adams, "the old man eloquent," Joshua R. Giddings, Wm. Slade, Owen Lovejoy, Horace Mann, Theodore Parker, Isaac T. Hopper, Ellis Gray we may believe, exchanging gratulations on this most happy day. Our Constitution has been called a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell," but no longer shall it merit such words of shame and ignominy, nor that glorious old Flag be apostrophised

Mr. James R. Elliot then sang "The Star-Spangled Banner," the audience rising, and joining in the cho-

The chairman then said that it was very seldom that a philanthropist, engaged in a great movement strugholding the result of his labors. There was, however, such an one present—the first great pioneer of the Anti-Slavery cause, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, who would now address the assembly.

On coming forward, Mr. Garrison was unable to proceed for some time—the immense audience greeting him with enthusiastic, long-protracted and overwhelming applause, concluding with three rousing cheers. As soon as he could be heard, he proceeded

SPEECH OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

When I was requested, by our honored chairman, write upon a slip of paper some of the names of those who had made themselves conspicuous in the Anti-Slavery movement, but who had ascended to a higher sphere of existence, I had but a few moments in which to recall their memories. The list might be extended indefinitely : but I beg leave to add to it, on this occasion, the name of Professor Follen, among th earliest and the truest, the friend and champion of impartial freedom in Europe and America; and him, whose "soul is marching on," John Brown. (E thusiastic cheers.)-At this point, Major General Butler came upon the platform, and was received with a storm of applause from the audience, who rose to their feet, and clapped their hands, and waved hats and handkerchiefs for several minutes. Quietude being restored, Mr. Garrison continued as follows :-

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen :- In the long course of history, there are events of such transcendant sublimity and importance as to make all human speech utterly inadequate to portray the emotions they excite. The event we are here to celebrate is one of these-grand, inspiring, glorious, beyond all power of utterance, and far-reaching beyond all finite computation. (Applause.)

At last, after eighty years of wandering and dark ness,-of cruelty and oppression, on a colossal scale towards a helpless and an unoffending race-of recre by our revolutionary sires in justification of their course; through righteous judgment and fiery retribution; through national dismemberment and civil war; through suffering, bereavement and lamentation, extending to every city, town, village and ham let, almost every household in the land : through a lation and rebuke, resulting in wide spread contrition and repentance; the nation, rising in the majesty of its moral power and political sovereignty, has de creed that LIBERTY shall be "PROCLAIMED THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, TO ALL THE INHABI TANTS THEREOF," and that henceforth no such anom alous being as slaveholder or slave shall exist beneath the "stars and stripes," within the domains of the republic. (Cheers.)
Sir, no such transition of feeling and sentiment, as

has taken place within the last four years, stands recorded on the historic page; a change that seems as absolute as it is stupendous. Allow me to confess that, in view of it, and of the mighty consequences that must result from it to unborn generations, I feel to-night in a thoroughly methodistical state of mind -disposed at the top of my voice, and to the utmost stretch of my lungs, to shout "Glory!" "Alleluia! "Amen and amen!" (Rapturous applause-" Glo ry!" "Alleluia!" "Amen and amen!" being re peated with great unction by various persons in the audience.) Gladly and gratefully would I exclaim with one of old, "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." (Applause.) With the rejoicing Psalmist, I would say to the old and the young, "O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good; for his mercy endureth forever. To him alone that doeth great wonders; for his mercy endureth forwas in every respect eminently worthy of the great ever. To him that overthrew Pharaoh and his host the Red sea; for his mercy endureth forever. mercy endureth forever." (Loud applause.) "Let thing that hath breath praise the Lord!" Mr. Chairman, friends and strangers stop me in the

streets, daily, to congratulate me on having been permitted to live to witness the almost miraculous change which has taken place in the feelings and sentiments of the people on the subject of slavery, and in favor of the long rejected but ever just and humane doctrine of immediate and universal emancipation. Ah, recognizes the vastness of that change than I do But most truly can I say that it causes within me no But I am unspeakably happy to believe, not only that this vast assembly, but that the great mass of my countrymen are now heartily disposed to admit that, We have invited you here to give thanks and re-joice over one of the greatest events of this eventful tallities, for more than thirty years, the utter abolition of slavery, I have not acted the part of a madman, fanatic, incendiary, or traitor, (immense applause,) the proposed alteration of the Constitution of the United States, by Congress, has been anyounged to animated by the highest patriotism, and devoted to the welfare, peace, unity, and ever increasing prosperity and glory of my native land! (Cheers.) And the many other glorious events of these days in which clear-sighted, untiring, intrepid, unselfish, uncomprosame verdict you will render in vindication of the mising Anti-Slavery phalanx, who, through years of conflict and persecution-misrepresented, misunderstood, ridiculed and anathematized from one end o the country to the other-have labored "in season and out of season" to bring about this glorious result. (Renewed applause.) You will, I venture to think and say, agree with me, that only RADICAL ABOLI-TIONISM is, at this trial-hour, LOYALTY, JUSTICE, IM PARTIAL PREEDON, NATIONAL SALVATION—the Golden Rule blended with the Declaration of Independ ence! (Great applause.)

Mr. Chairman, in the early days of the Anti-Slavery struggle, when those who ventured to espouse it were few and far between," we endeavored to recruit our ranks by singing at our gatherings-

"Come, join the abolitionists,
The fair, the old, the young,
And, with a warm and cheerful zeal, And, with a warm and cheerful seal,
Come, help the cause along!
O, that will be joyful, joyful, joyful,
When all shall proudly say,
'This, this is Francon's day! Oppression, flee away!
"Tis then we'll sing, and offerings bring,
When Francon wins the day!"

Thanks unto God, that day is here and now! Freeom is triumphant! THE PEOPLE have decreed the death of slavery ! All the controlling elements o the country-national, state, religious, political, literary, social, economical, wealthy, industrial-are combined for its immediate extinction. There is no longhappy to stand before you on this occasion. This is er occasion, therefore, for the repetition of that per Jay possessed to me of the most sacred associations. suasive song. As Jefferson said, in his inaugural message to Congress, "We are all Federalists, we are as the representative of a great, and, as I may say, of all Republicans "-so, in view of the dominant Antia good man. To-day is the anniversary of the birth Slavery sentiment of the land, it may now be comf Josiah Quincy, who is now, with many others, I prehensively declared, "We are all abolitionists, we are all loyalists, to the back bone." (Loud applause.)

Fellow-citizens, we are here, moved as by one electhis glorious event of human redemption—Benjamin whereas, for more than seventy years, it served as a mighty bulwark for the slave system, giving it national sanction and security, now it forbids human slavery in every part of the republic! Pardon me for reminding you of the old pro-slavery guaranties contained in that Constitution, all of which the present amendment obliterates at a blow. As the first compe Loring, Francis Jackson, Charles F. Hovey,—are, tent witness, let "the old man eloquent," John Quinor ADAMS, be summoned as a witness. The following is his testimony :-

"In the articles of confederation, there was no gua "In the articles of confederation, there was no guarantee for the property of the slaveholder—no double representation of him in the Federal councils—no power of taxation—no stipulation for the recovery of fugitive slaves. But when the powers of government came to be delegated to THE UNION, the South—that is, South Carolina and Georgia—refused their subscription to the parchment, till it should be saturated

with the infection of slavery, which no fumigr purity, no quarantine could extinguish. The freeman the North gave way, and the dendly venom of slavery winfused into the Constitution of freedom."

Again :

"It cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of South prescribed, as a condition of their Constitution, three special provisions to perpetuity of their dominion over their perpetuity of their dominion over their slave, iffrst was the immunity for twenty years of preserve the African slave trade; the second was the six tion to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement tion to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement six and thirdly, the exaction fatal to the princ of popular representation, of a representation for six of property of the same of the ns."
The delegates from South Carolina and Ger

"The delegates from South Carolina and distinctly avowed that, without this guarant tection to their property in slaves, they we yield their assent to the Constitution; and men of the North, reduced to the alternative ing from the vital principle of their liberty, the Union itself, averted their faces, and bling hand subscribed the bond."

Again:

"The bargain between Freedom and Slavery or in the Constitution of the United States is NORM."
FOLITICALLY VICIOUS, inconsistent with the prion which alone our revolution can be justified. and oppressive by riveting the chains of i ing the faith of freedom to maintain on tyranny of the master, and aroundary ing the faith of freedom to maintain and perpetuate the tyranny of the master, and grossly unequal and impossive the state of the state

The next witness, Mr. Chairman, is your own ven The next witness, and speech delivered at the Whig State Convention in Boston, ten years ago, said :

"The slaveholders of the South have used the por "The stavenoiders of the South have used the por-ers vested in them by the Constitution for their own in-terests, as every other selfish association of men would have done under the same circumstances, with the same powers, and under the same temptations."

And, referring to the threats continually made by the slave oligarchy of the South, that they would dissolve the Union if the Anti-Slavery agitation was not suppressed at the North, he added-

"Are the slaveholders fools or madmen ! They go out of the Union for the purpose of maintaining the subjection of their slaves? Why, the arm of the Evine is the very sinew of that subjection! It is the state of that subjection! It is the state HOLDER'S MAIN STRENGTH. ITS CONTINUANCE IS HIS FORLORN HOPE."

The present paralyzed and dying condition of chattel slavery, as the result of secession, is demonstrative evidence that " the arm of the Union was the very sinew of the slaves' subjection, and the slaveholde main strength."

Only one other witness shall be summoned on this occasion. Listen to the confession of the lamente WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING :-

"There is some excuse for communities when under a generous impulse they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore the rights; but they are without excuse in ading other States in binding on men an unrighteous yoke. On this subject of the property of the states of the sta SWERVED FROM THE RIGHT. We, their children, it be end of half a century, see the path of daty me clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind has long been tending, and the time the public mind has long been tending, and the time that the public mind has long been tending, and the time that the public mind has long been tending, and the time that the public mind has long been tending, and the time that the time the time that the time that the time that the time that the time t We cannot fly from the shame or guilt of the in

tion as long as we give it any support. Most unkn pily, there are provisions of the Constitution binding in give it support. Let us resolve to free ourselves to these. No blessing of the Union can be pensation for taking part in the enslaving of or fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be perpetu ed, if experience shall demonstrate that it can on continue through our participation in wrong-doin To this conviction the free States are tending."

Again :

"The Constitution requires the free States to send back to bondage the fugitive slave. Does this shot that we have no concern with the domestic institu-tions of the South? that the guilt of them, it sucthere be, is wholly theirs, and in no degree our This clause makes us direct partakers of the gall and, of consequence, we have a vital interest the matter of slavery. It will be said that the Son will insist on this stipulation, because it is necessary to the support of her institutions. . . . If the necessity be real, then it follows that he free Slate and the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the jailors and constables of the institution. But it is said, the South is passionate, and threatens to seed, if we agitate this subject slavery. In such an even, there would be no need of anti-slavery societies or of dothere would be no need of anti-slavery societies or of lition agitations, to convert the North. The blow I would sever the Union for this cause would produc interests and duties which grow out of the Union, would burst its fetters, and be re-enforced by the value trengle of the patriotic principle, as well as by all the prejudies and local passions which would follow disunion."

Sir, "in the mouth of two or three witnesses". and especially of such witnesses-" shall every word be established." But what need of summoning ever these ? Has not THE NATION itself, in every po litical struggle, in every form of governmental ac ever since the Constitution was ordained, recognized and upheld these revolting pro-slavery features of that nstrument ? In your allusion, Mr. Chairman, to the departed

worthies of the Anti-Slavery struggle, you correct stated that some of them felt compelled, by conscien tious scruples, to withdraw their support from such a Constitution, regarding it as a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell." Such has been my own position, for many years past; and, leaving oth ers to follow their highest convictions on this subject as the professed advocate and representative of th elave I have felt constrained, as a matter of duty and consistency, to testify against such a Union and Con stitution. But now, sir, that the old "covenant will death" is superseded by a covenant with life-not that we are in concurrence with heaven, and no longer "at agreement with hell"-now that "Liberty and Union are one and inseparable "-I no longer occup an isolated and antagonistic position, but rejoice in common redemption. (Cheers.)

And to whom is the country more immediately in debted for this vital and saving amendment of the Constitution than, perhaps, to any other man! The lieve I may confidently answer—to the humble ral-splitter of Illinois—to the Presidential chain-bresker for millions of the oppressed—to ABRAHAM LIN COLN! (Immense and long continued applause, ing with three cheers for the President. I understate that it was by his wish and influence, that that plant was made a part of the Baltimore Platform; and, take ing his position unflinchingly upon that Platform, THE PEOPLE have overwhelmingly sustained hold him and it, ushering in the YEAR OF JUBILES. (Be

newed cheering.)

Be assured, Abraham Lincoln can be trusted to end. You may rely upon his honesty and integrity in whatever he has said or done for the overthr playery. In spite of all the wiles of all the so-called Peace Commissioners, he will be true to his woll (cheers); he will never consent, under any circumtances, to the reenslavement of any one of the lions whose yokes he has broken. (Loud applause

Fellow-citizens, it is through terrible judgments for our great national transgression that, as a people, we have been led to see the path of duty and of safe ty, and to follow it. Reverently and resignedly would

"Even so, Father! Let thy will be done! Turn and o'erturn; end what thou has In judgment or in mercy! As for me, If but the least and frailest, let me be Who find thy service perfect liberty!

I fain would thank Thee that my mortal
Has reached the hour, (albeit through of
When Good and Evil, as for final strife, Close dim and vast on Armageddon's plain; And Michael and his angels once again Drive howling back the Spirits of the Night. Drive howling back the Spirits of the Ng Oh! for the faith to read the signs aright And, from the angle of thy perfect sight,

FEB]

See Truth's white b And the Good Caus And base expedient See Peace with Free And, through its of Flailed by thy thur By whom has work ! Who will seribe it to any m of heaven, not of ples, not of person

"Speed on thy
And when th
And swells from
The anthem
Oh, not to the
As with thy
But unto Thee,
Be praise an

Mr. Chairman, struggle for the at England, and that United States. O is only necessary nother-one proinsert another-or usnee of the slave perpetuity of slav ne case as it doe Clarkson testifies nade by that strug ed a part :-"Thus ended o after a continuance ried on in any age tal violence, but of who felt deeply their fellow-creature custom and the under foot the sac

under foot the sac even attempted to from their minds. Of the immense not how to speak; question which it. Rever was the hei its generous sympingly excited. This steene, have been istence, have been tional virtue.

It has been us moral character; distinguish the vii the community.
thropist; it has ur
pretention to vir
knowledge in put
statesman from th us who, in the ur country, are fi The same thing ecution of the Ant

Honor to those w used their influer and Lovejoy, and gressional associa o Governor And General Butler, (done, since the re inction of slavery men! Honor to all in the good work ! none but God can not a prayer offere ribution made, n hopeful condition Do we realize th sembled to celebra pation, but univer not merely disently ating bodies, but s

It is an act, not in

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Independence, no

ning certain "

vindicate our reve STITUTIONAL THE LAND-for th ties of all who dw a hissing even am for they will not to of negro slavery v we have thrown o solved to be consis become world-wid man liberty and r power of a glori prowth of mighty ent no Maximili on his throne. (1 isms of Europe my

dations, and their assert their right Equality, Fraterni the admonitory, WHITTIER :-"Hear it, old I The death of Look to your v Your poor dum Your prisons

Oh, kingly moe What deeds i Yet know that Across the wate Progression t Not always sha Appalled by Grind as their The hour whic Swing wide s

On then, my be Ye deal is for Whatever here Or humbles Fre Blesses the O Our country thu and save, with no each one of us ma ish orator Curra "I speak in the makes liberty co

from the American stranger and the foot upon America he treads is holy, Iniversal Emancip his doom may he what complexion, Indian or an Africa no matter in what have been cloven nities he may ha slavery ; the first of America, the all dust; his soul wal body swells beyon burst from around generated and dise of Universal Eman

In conclusion, slavery abolished. the acknowledged plexion and ra the highest strain Oh, thus be it ever

Between our love
Biest with victory
land
Praise the Power
Uon!
These conquer we me
And this be our most
And the star-spangle
Our the land of the
(Long cont) (Long continued The following I

By whom has this wondrous revolution been Frought! Who will presume to call it his own

heaven, not of men. It is the triumph of princi-

Mr. Chairman, there is a close analogy between the

and, and that for the abolition of slavery in the

her-one pro-slavery menace or denunciation, and

struggle for the abolition of the foreign slave trade in

Mailed States. On reading CLARKSON'S HISTORY, it

United States. It is only necessary to strike out one name, and insert

insert another—one sophisticatal plea for the contin-

sance of the slave-traffic, and insert another for the

perpetuity of slavery—and it applies as well in the

one case of testifies as to the revelations of character

Clarason resumes as a which he took so distinguish

"Thus ended one of the most glorious contest

"Thus ended one of the most glorious contests, after a continuance for twenty years, of any ever carried on in any age or country;—a contest, not of brust ricknee, but of reason;—a contest between those who felt deeply for the happiness and the honor of their fellow-creatures, and those who, through vicious custom and the impulses of avarice, had trampled custom for the sacred rights of their nature, and had even attempted to efface all title to the divine image from their minds.

their minds.

(if the immense advantage of this contest, I know not how to speak; indeed, the very agitation of the question which it involved has been highly important. Yerer was the heart of man so expanded; never were its generous sympathies so generally and so perseveringly excited. These sympathies, thus called into extense, have been useful for the preservation of a native system.

intence, have been useful, also, in the discrimination of Ir has been useful, also, in the discrimination of moral character; in private life it has enabled us to distinguish the virtuous from the more victous part of the community. It has shown the general philanthropist; it has unmasked the victous, in spite of his pretention to virtue. It has afforded us the same inoveledge in public life; it has separated the moral statesman from the wicked politician. It has shown

atesman from the wicked politician. It has shown who, in the legislative and executive offices of the country, are fit to save, and who to destroy a na-

The same thing has been demonstrated in the pros

ecution of the Anti-Slavery movement in this country.

Honor to those who, holding high official station, have

used their influence to the furtherance of the cause

of universal emancipation-such men as Giddings,

and Lovejoy, and Sumner, and Wilson, and their con

gressional associates! Honor to President Lincoln,

Governor Andrew, and may I not say to Major

General Butler, (great cheering,) for what they have

done, since the rebellion broke out, both for the ex-

tinction of slavery and the relief and elevation of freed-

men! Honor to all those who, in any way, have helped

none but God can number. Not a tear has been shed, not a prayer offered, not a testimony borne, not a con-tribution made, not an effort put forth in vain. All

these have been needed to bring us to our present

hopeful condition; and none could have been spared.

Do we realize the grandeur of the event we are as-

embled to celebrate ? It is not merely negro emanci-

pation, but universal emancipation. (Cheers.) It is

not merely disenthralling four millions, but thirty-four

millions. (Renewed cheers.) It is not merely liber-

ating bodies, but souls-outwardly and inwardly alike.

It is an act, not in hostility to the South, but for the general welfare-the good of the whole country. It

all human interests. In fine, it is the Declaration of

Independence, no longer an abstract manifesto, con-

thining certain "glittering generalities," simply to

indicate our revolutionary fathers for seceding from

the mother country; but it is that Declaration CON-STITUTIONALIZED-made THE SUPREME LAW OF

THE LAND-for the protection of the rights and liber-

ties of all who dwell on the American soil. (Cheers.)

Hitherto, as a nation, we have been a by-word and

thissing even among the despotisms of the old world;

for they will not tolerate so infamous a system as that

of pegro slavery within their domains. But now that

we have thrown off this terrible incubus, and are re-

solved to be consistently and universally free, we shall

become world-wide propagandists in the cause of hu-

men liberty and republican institutions, through the wer of a glorious example, and the irresistible

growth of mighty ideas. (Cheers.) On this conti-

on his throne. (Protracted cheering.) The despot

isms of Europe must be made to tremble to their foun-

dations, and their down-trodden millions summoned to

mert their rights under the banner of "Liberty,

Equality, Fraternity ! " (Applause.) We will re-echo

the admonitory, penitential and sublime words of

"Hear it, old Europe! we have aworn
The death of slavery. When it falls,
Look to your vassals in their turn,
Your poor dumb millions, crushed and worn,
Your prisons and your palace-walls!

What deeds in Freedom's name we do; Yet know that every taunt ye throw Across the waters, goads our slow Progression tow'rds the right and true.

Appalled by democratic crime, Grind as their fathers ground before;— The hour which sees our prison door Swing wide shall be their triumph time!

On then, my brothers! every blow
Ye deal is felt the wide earth through;
Whatever here uplifts the low,
or humbles Freedom's hateful foe,
Blesses the Old World through the New!"

Irish orator Curran, with a single alteration :-"I speak in the spirit of the American law, which

Our country thus redeemed, thus qualified to lead

and save, with not a slave left to clank his chains,

each one of us may proudly quote the language of the

makes liberty commensurate with and inseparable from the American soil; which proclaims, even to the

tranger and the sojourner, the moment he sets his

foot upon American earth, that the ground on which

treads is holy, and consecrated by the Genius of

Universal Emancipation. No matter in what language

his doom may have been pronounced; no matter what complexion, incompatible with freedom, an

ladian or an African sun may have burned upon him;

no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may

have been cloven down; no matter with what solem-

nities he may have been devoted upon the altar of

farery; the first moment he touches the sacred soil

of America, the altar and the god sink together in the

dust; his soul walks abroad in her own majesty; his

hody swells beyond the measure of its chains that

arst from around him; and he stands redeemed, re-

Renerated and disenthralled by the irresistible Genius

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman and fellow-citizens,

starery abolished, the Constitution purged, and liberty

the acknowledged birthright of every man of every

complexion and race, I feel, as I never felt before, in

of Universal Emancipation." (Cheers.)

the highest strain of patriotism to exclaim-

Oh, kingly mockers !- scoffing show

Not always shall your outraged poor,

ent no Maximilian must be allowed to sit securely

is not to depress or injure any class, but to promo

in the good work! They constitute a great army, who

case as it does in the other. Let us hear what

les, not of persons.

Speed on thy work, Lord God of Horts!

And when the bondman's chain is riven,
And swells from all our guilty coasts
The anthem of the free to Heaven,—
Oh, not to those whom Thou hast led,
As with thy cloud and fire before,
But unto Thee, in fear and dread,
Be praise and glory evermore!"

ples, not of persons.

Who will be guilty of the folly or impiety to serile it to any mere human instrumentalities? It is

See Truth's white banner floating on before;
And the Good Cause, despite of venal friends
And base expedients, move to noble ends;
See Peace with Freedom make to Time amends,
See Peace with Freedom found to the threshing-floor,
And, through its cloud of dust, the threshing-floor,
Falled by thy thunder, heaped with chaffless grain; Truth's white banner floating on before;

itself, in every poovernmental act

; and, leaving othons on this subject, oant with life-now that " Liberty and I no longer occupy ion, but rejoice in a ore immediately in-

Platform; and, takpon that Platform, ingly sustained both OF JUBILER. (Rean be trusted to the nesty and integrity, for the overthrow of all the so-called e true to his word under any circumany one of the mil-(Loud applause.) terrible judgments

on that, as a people, of duty and of safend resignedly would

done!

plain:

ree,
!
ortal life
h care and pain,)

n, is your own venivered at the Whig cars ago, said :-

g condition of chaton, is demonstrative Inion was the very nd the slaveholders'

nunities when under nunities when under the cause of the opforce reatore their naiding other States the. On this subject the Constitution, e, their children, at path of duty more n it. To this point noting, and the time and dispassionately, solution." r guilt of the institupoort. Most unhapstitution binding us to free ourselves from

the Union can be a the enslaving of our ond to be perpetuat-te that it can only on in wrong-doing. tending." free States to send c. Does this show e domestic institu-t of them, if such a no degree ours t akers of the guilt; a vital interest in said that the South ause it is necessary of slavery. We are stitution. But it is threatens to secede. In such an event,

three witnesses "-"shall every word of summoning even rdained, recognized very features of that

in, to the departed aggle, you correctly pelled, by conscienupport from such a ovenant with death uch has been my presentative of the matter of duty and old "covenant with eaven, and no longer

amendment of the other man? I beto the humble railntial chain-breaker ABRAHAM LINnued applause, end-ident.) I understand nce, that that plank

^aOh, thus be it ever, when freemen shall stand between our loved home and the war's desolation; little with victory and peace, may our Henven-re hand Praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a na-

The conquer we must, for our cause it is just;
And this be our motto, "In God is our trust;"
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
Our the land of the free and the home of the brave!" (Long continued applause.) The following Hymn, written for the occasion by

in the melody :-

Giver of all that crowns our days, With grateful hearts we sing thy praise! Through deep and desert, led by Thee, Our Canaan's promised land we see!

Ruler of Nations, judge our cause!
If we have kept thy holy laws,
The sons of Belial curse in vain
The day that rends the captive's chain.

Thou God of vengeance! Israel's Lord! Break in their grasp the shield and sword, And make thy righteous judgmente known Till all thy foes are overthrown! Then, Father, lay Thy healing hand

In mercy on our stricken land; Lead all its wanderers to the fold, And be their Shepherd as of old!

So shall our Nation's song ascend To Thee, our Ruler, Father, Friend; While Heaven's wide arch resounds again With peace on earth, good will to men! Rev. Edward N. Kirk, D. D., being introduce

addressed the audience at some length. REMARKS OF REV. E. N. KIRK, D.D.

was doomed. They were there to rejoice over the re- on the part of the mother country. nished our national honor, and imperilled our na- their freedom and rights as citizens. tional existence. It has humiliated the North, and

corrupted the church and the pulpit. country. Imagination cannot reach the height from has now performed that great work which is the first for her. It is a solemn religious national act. It would on the negro in rebeldom. It has its effect on our-Independence. We lay our pride and prejudice on very still existing. There is nothing I dread more all honest Democrats. Above all, to God Most High, from whose decree there is no appeal.

as one who had done perhaps more than any other

In coming forward, Gen. Butler was received with a renewal of the enthusiastic demonstrations that greetutes. Order being restored, he proceeded to address

SPEECH OF MAJOR GENERAL BUTLER.

of midsummer, our fathers assembled to congratulate each other upon a declaration of human rights, which face. I repeat again: Massachusetts is unalterably option. has since been claimed to be a charter to the white man only. Seventy-seven years ago, in mid-winter, Massachusetts debated the acceptance of the Constiposed the present interests of the individual to the fu-From that one defect of constitutional law has arisen the most gigantic national sin, followed by the most terrible national retribution with which the Divine will has seen fit to afflict the children of men. The nation, are now met to congratulate ourselves upon the first step taken in supplying this omission of the frame of government of '87. Released from all constitutional obligations to protect slavery, acting upon the frame of government itself, three-fourths of the loyal peotheir civilization. (Applause.) Amid the joyous scenes of this triumph of the right, which animate the hearts of all good men, even now, and here, it may not be

make amends for former long-continued wrongs. and legal immunity and privilege which belong to If he may not proudly proclaim with the Apostle, "I no man, no combination or confederation of men, can with justice deprive the negro. As a nation, he is of us, with us, and a part of us; equal in right under the chusetts, in this so clear and self-evident proposition, there seems no difficulty. Since 1789, the colored man in Massachusetts, under the laws thereof, modified only by the laws of the United States, has enjoyed the rights and privileges of every other citizen of Massachusetts. The child goes to the same school. The man partakes of the same employments. The same learned professions, medicine, the bar, the pulpit, are open to him, and more than all, he carries to the election of his rulers and framing of the laws the

equal ballot, which soft falling
Like the snow-flake on the rod,
Doth execute a freeman's will,
As lightning does the will of God." Oliver Wendell Holmes, was then sung to the tune of (Great applause.)

that the negro can have no practical rights as a citizen he were an alien. Nay, more; as if he were a beast, and a dangerous beast-beside, either to be sent out of er the full complement of a Massachusetts statesman. the country, or to be herded and penned as such, in some remote or unhealthy corner thereof, as not fit to live on the soil which gave him birth, and to which he has every right, and is held by every tie and attachment which bind a man to that portion of earth which he calls home and country. It has been therefore proposed to send him away; to herd him in rice swamps or cotton islands, where alone he may listen to the sad music of the roar of the ocean surf, not more relentless and unceasing to him than the wrongs of his fellow-man. There to prevent any white man or white woman in the missionary labor of love to visit him. Uneducated, to put him beyond the pale of Dr. Kirk said that in April, 1861, he was on his way to Charleston when he heard that Fort Sumter had been fired on. The only word that could express his than Egyptian bondage, to make him a colonist, withfeelings was, "Glorious!" for he then knew slavery out the implements of colonization, or fostering care

moval of a great evil. Slavery had been the cause of To any such illogical and unjust treatment of the the characteristic pride, ambition and hatred of slave-holders. Northern society had felt its influences—mer-setts will never consent. (Loud applause.) Our machants, politicians, the church. Public sentiment had terial interests, the interests of the country, oppose it. For been degraded. Our Fathers abhorred slavery. Vice two hundred and fifty years at least, we have been im-President Stephens admits that the opinion of all emi-nent statesmen was, that the enslaving of the African country. The necessity for labor here has caused it race was in violation of the laws of nature, wrong in principle, social, moral and political. It is the South that has changed, changed since Mr. Calhoun vowed strong hands and willing hearts are made free laborvengeance on Gen. Andrew Jackson. It is slavery that has brought the country to the verge of ruin. Jeffer-son said, "The rock on which the Union will split is they have been reared—from their hearth-stones, as slavery." Yes, that very Union which Northern statesmen tried to save by compromise. This act is a great movement of the nation backward. And now, these portentous clouds are passing away. The ship productive and lost, must be unprofitable? Our sense of State has passed safely by these treacherous ledges. of justice denies it. They have taken up arms freely Slavery has robbed a race of its birthright; it has tar- and willingly in our defence, and we have given them

orrupted the church and the pulpit.

Corner or to be shut up in a rice swamp, and not be allowed to see the face of their white fellow-citizens, being allowed to see the face of their white fellow-citizens, being allowed to see the face of their white fellow-citizens, being allowed to see the face of their white fellow-citizens, being allowed to see the face of their white fellow-citizens, being allowed to see the face of their white fellow-citizens, being allowed to see the face of their white fellow-citizens, being allowed to see the face of their white fellow-citizens, being allowed to see the face of their white fellow-citizens, being allowed to see the face of their white fellow-citizens, being allowed to see the face of their white fellow-citizens, being allowed to see the face of their white fellow-citizens, being allowed to see the face of their white fellow-citizens, being allowed to see the face of their white fellow-citizens, being allowed to see the face of their white fellow-citizens, being allowed to see the face of their white fellow-citizens, being allowed to see the face of their white fellow-citizens, being allowed to see the face of their white fellow-citizens, being allowed to see the face of their white fellow-citizens, being allowed to see the face of their white fellow-citizens. on us-hope for millions whose hearts have as lively except it may be of a soldier sent as their guard? a sense of hope as ours. Hope dawns on Africa! The What true citizenship is it to be deprived of their mighty nation that thrived on her tears and agony has equal rights in the land their arms have helped to relented and repented. Hope dawns for our beloved save from the flery furnace of rebellion, and to be put upon such portions of it only as are not thought to be which to contemplate the results. A sun has burst well habitable by their white fellow-soldiers? What forth upon the nation, with healing in his wings. She fair division can it be of the heritage acquired in part by their blood, to give their white-fellow soldier one Farnaworth, Illinois bundred and sixty acres of land to be located where step into that glorious future which God has prepared hundred and sixty acres of land to be located where he chooses, "the finest the sun e'er shone upon," to have its effect on the war; on the negro in our armies; him and his heirs forever, while to the colored soldier, scarred, perhaps, with honorable wounds, but forty selves. We have done right. We stand right with acres of a rice swamp to be allotted, or eight hundred the nations. We no more lie in our Declaration of feet front of marsh on a sluggish river, and that a possessary title only? And yet the distinguished God's altar. It has its effect on our future prosperity.

It would be dreadful if the war should close with sland able-bodied negroes are to be encouraged to contribute their share towards maintaining their own than a clique of politicians, backed by millions of freedom, and securing their rights as citizens of the white and black slaves, an unprincipled landed aristoc-racy. To whom are we indebted for the achievement this? What freedom? What rights of citizen ship of this great result? To the formers of public senti- for which to shed one's blood, even if it is only black ment-to Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Henry, to blood? What wise statesmanship ever yet founded the Quakers, to the Presbyterian church, to Wesley, a colony from which the young and able-bodied men to Garrison, to John Brown, to President Lincoln, to were taken as soldiers ?-where the blacksmiths, carpenters, and the skilled mechanics were taken from penters, and the skilled mechanics were taken from the settlement; and where the respectable heads of families had no inducements held out to them for leaving the homes of their childhood, and making new homes in the wilderness, save a possessary title Rev. George A. Rue, pastor of the Anderson Street families had no inducements held out to them for Bethel Church, (colored,) sung "Strike the loud tim- leaving the homes of their childhood, and making brel o'er Egypt's dark sea," with thrilling effect, after new homes in the wilderness, save a possessary title which the Chairman introduced Major General Butler, only to forty acres of land, not too much out of water? Under such inducements, under such pupilage, military man for the freedom of the slave, and who, with such restrictions, and with such hopes, even our laying aside old party prejudices, had stood up man-fully for the rights of the contraband. (Applause.) hardy Anglo-Saxon fathers, who landed at Plymouth, would not have thriven. How much less, then, is the negro, by our wrongs untaught, uncultivated, and without the habit of self-independence, fitted thus to ed his first appearance on the platform, which was continued with even greater vehemence for several min- forbid it. Every benevolent Christian in the land has contributed his mite to send the self-sacrificing missionary to redeem the Pagan from darkness, and yet here it is proposed to erect a heathenage upon our own SPEECH OF MAJOR GENERAL BUTLER.

Almost ninety years since, amid the radiant glories

school, teacher upon their high and holy mission, shall

stitution. (Great cheering.) tution of the United States—the solemn compact of No! We propose, on the other hand, simply to let assurance to those rights-the most perfect form of the negro alone (renewed cheers); that he shall, in government ever devised by man-but which left un- fact, enjoy the right of selecting his place of labor; cared for and unprovided safeguards of freedom and equality of right to all men, irrespective of color. Doubtless our fathers believed that the clear interests its length and its value; to allow him at least the enof the rising nation would protect it from the then joyment of the primordial curse, "In the sweat of receding weight of human slavery. But, alas! a thy face shalt thou eat bread;" restrained only by single Massachusetts invention-the cotton gin-op- the laws applying to him, and to all, alike; as the rain falleth upon the just and the unjust. We also acture good of the State, and made the burden—greater cept the fact that by our injustice to him, and his race, he is thrown upon the government, unused to care for himself, unfurnished with means of beginning life anew. And we agree that it is our duty, and the duty of the government, to remedy this injus has seen it to americally a sense of justice by its chastisement, we brought to a sense of self-independence, and independence. to see to it that he is taught: that he is gradually dence of others; that he shall have a fair share of the lands that he and his fathers have wrought upon that he shall be left in the several States where his labor is needed and is productive; and that he be furnished at first with the means of beginning that life ple of the country will have no difficulty in erasing which justice, equal laws and equal rights have for the from their fundamental law this, the last blot upon first time opened up to him and his children forever. And when this is done, we believe our duty is done, and that thereafter, so far as governmental interfer ence goes, the negro is to be let severely ALONE. (Great unfit to pause for a moment, to consider the duties and obligations under which we find ourselves to this man must work, or become a vagabond. We believe class of citizens, so constituted and declared by this he must be taught, to change in our organic law. Laying aside all prejudi-ces, giving up all theories, putting away all predilec-with the means of beginning life, as every man must tions, we should approach the subject as one calling be furnished with the means of beginning life, either for prompt, active and efficient justice; at least, to with education, habits of self-dependence, or with the fruits of ancestral earnings. And when these are By the final passage of the amendment which we given to him, we have repaired in part the wrong we celebrate, every negro slave is made a citizen of the have done him. We may then hope to receive the United States, entitled as of right to every political pardon of the Almighty for the sins we and our fathers have committed towards him. Failing in this, that great franchise. (Loud applause.) He may well our duty, we may fear still further chastisement from say, I am an American citizen. (Renewed applause.)
If he may not proudly proclaim with the Apostle, "I fathers, because the bitter cup of purification and was free-born," yet he can truly claim as did the Chief chastisement has not yet been suffered to pass from Captain, "With a great sum obtained I this freedom."
(Great applause.) Of these rights, or either of them, the right direction. We have bowed to the first principles of eternal justice. If we go forward with no halting tread, taking no step backwards, we may look with humble confidence that hereafter our political law. (Cheers and applause.) To the men of Massa- sky shall be so healthy and so pure that no thunderstorm and torrent will need to be sent to clear the ne tional atmosphere, and to wash away with blood the sins of the people. Unless we do justice, how can we hope for justice or mercy ! And although the punishment for a national wrong and national sin is a

"The mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceeding

times in wisdom delayed, and wickedness seems for a

Amid our joyous notes of congratulatory triumphs may we not also pause for a single moment to turn our memories to those pioneers in the cause of jus-tice, of whom we can say, "Would they had lived to have seen this day!" I need not name them-their memories are still green in our hearts, but the names

time to escape punishment, yet

"Old Hundred," the congregation rising, and joining In other sections of the country, the mind, warped of two flash before us. PARKER the divine, whose and twisted by the influence of the system of slavery, whose funeral obsequies we are now attending, does (Applause.) MANN, the teacher, a pioneer of edunot at once comprehend these truths, and admit the force of the inexorable logic of EQUAL RIGHTS. Men, otherwise just and good, have been brought to believe ful; for to the latter at least, we look forward to the hour when his statue, gracing the front of our legisla--no claims to be considered as an integral part of the inhabitants of the country, and is to be treated as if wealth. (Applause.) The two statues overshadow er the full complement of a Massachusetts statesman.
One, conservative, who wisely expounded the Constitution as it was; the other, progressive, who dared to look forward to the amendment of a material defect in the great instrument whose passage now peals liberty and equality of rights to the world. (Loud and

continued applause.)

General Butler sat down amid another tempest of cheers and applause, which, having subsided, a patriotic song was finely sung by a quartette of gentlemen, and the exercises of the evening were concluded with the Doxology, "Be Thou, O God, exalted

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

" ABTICLE XIII. "Sect. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECT. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

YEAS 119 (Demograts 16, in Italic.)

crats 16, in Italic.)

King, Missouri

Knox. Missouri

Littlejohn, New York

Loan, Missouri

Longyear, Michigan

Marvin, New York

McAllister, Pennsylvania

McBludg, Oregon

McGlurg, Missouri

McIndoe, Wisconsin

Miller, New York

Morehead, Pennsylvania

Morrill, Vermont

Morril, Vermont

Morris, New York

A. Myers, Pennsylvania

L. Myers, Pennsylvania

Nelson, New York

Norton, Illinois

Odell, New York

O'Neill, Pennsylvania

Orth, Indiana

Patterson, New York

Ames, Massachusetts
Anderson, Kentucky
Arnold, Illinois
Ashloy, Ohio
Builey, Pennsylvania
Baldwin, Michigan
Baldwin, Massachusetts
Baxter. Vermont Baldwin, Massachusetts
Baxter, Vermont
Beaman, Michigan
Blane, Maine
Blair, West Virginia
Blow, Missouri
Boutwell, Massachusetts
Boyd, Missouri
Brandagee, Connecticut
Broomall, Pennsylvania
Brown, West Virginia
Ambrose W. Clark, N. Y.
Freeman Clark,
Cobb, Wisconsin
Coffroth, Pennsylvania
Coffax, Indiana What just freedom is it to them to be penned in a Cole, California Davis, Indiana Davis, New York Dawes, Massachuse Donnelly, Minnesota Driggs, Michigan Dumont, Indiana Eckley, Ohio Eliot, Massachusetts English, Connection Garfield, Ohio rinnell, Iowa riswold, New York Hale, Pennsylvania Herrick, New York

srs. Alison, Iowa

O'Neill, Pennsylvania
O'rth, Indiana
Patterson, New York
Perham, Maine
Pike, Maine
Pomeroy, New York
Price, Iowa
Radford, New York
Randall, Kentucky
Rice, Massachusetts
Rice, Maine
Rollins, Niesw Hampshire
Rollins, Missouri
Schenck, Ohio
Scofield, Pennsylvania
Shannon, California
Sloan, Wissonsin
Smith, Kentucky
Smithers, Delaware
Spalding, Ohio
Starr, New Jersey
Nicele, New York,
Stearns, Pennsylvania
Thayer,
Thomas Maryland Thayer, Thomas, Maryland, Inayer,
Thomas, Maryland,
Tracy, Pennsylvania
Upson, Michigan
Van Valkenburg, New York
Washburne, Illinois
Washburne, Illinois
Washburne, Maryland
Whaley, West Virginia
Wheeler, Wisconsin
Williams, Pennsylvania
Wilder, Kansas
Wilson, Iowa
Windham, Minnesota
Woodbridge, Vermont
Worthington, Nevada
Yeaman, Kentucky Herrick, New York
Higby, California
Hooper, Massachusett
Hotchkiss, New York
Hubbard, Iowa
Hubbard, Connecticut
Hubbard, New York
Hutchins, Ohio Hutchins, Ohio Ingersoll, Illinois Jenekee, Rhode Island Julian, Indiana Kasson, Iowa Kelley, Pennsylvania Kellogg, Michigan Kellogg, New York NAYS 56-ALL DEMOCRATS. Law, Indiana
Long, Ohio
Mallory, Kontucky
Miller, Pennsylvania
Morris, Ohio
Morrison, Illinois
Noble, Ohio
O'Neil, Ohio
Pendleton, Ohio
Perry, New Jersey
Pruyo, New York
Randall, Pennsylvania
Robinson, Illinois
Ross, ""

Brooks, New York
Brown, Wisconsin
Chanler, New York
Clay, Kentucky
Cox, Ohio
Cravens, Indiana
Dawson, Pennsylvania
Dawson, "" den, Illinois Eden, Illinois
Edgerton, Indiana
Eldridge, Wisconsin,
Finck, Ohio
Griden, Kentucky
Hale, Missouri
Harding, Kentucky
Harrington, Indiana Harrington, India Harris, Maryland Harris, Illinois Holman, Indiana Johnson, Pennsylvania

Ben. Wood, "F. Wood, " ABSENT OR NOT VOTING, 8-ALL DEMOCRATS. Lazear, Pennsylvania Leblonde, Ohio Marcy, New Hampshire McDowell, Indiana McKinney, Ohio Middleton, New Jersey Rogers "Voorhees, Indiana

It will be seen, by a notice in another column hat the colored citizens of Boston intend holding a JUBILEE MEETING, on Monday evening next, at the Tremont Temple, and that a strong array of speakers has been secured for the occasion. No doubt the

Ross,
Scott, Missouri
Steele, New Jersey
Stiles, Pennsylvania

Strouse, Strouse, Strouse, Strouse, Illinois

weat, Maine

Townsend, New York Wadsworth, Kentucky Ward, New York

ful and impressive lecture before the Boston Young Men's Christian Association, in Tremont Temple, on Wednesday evening, Feb. 1. It was well received Miss Anna E. Dickinson, of Philadelphia, gave a

ecture at Music Hall, in this city, on Monday evening last, to a large audience. Her subject was, "A Glance at the Future." She was particularly severe upon President Lincoln, and highly eulogistic of Gen.

RY!—The admission of JOHN S. ROCK, Esq., a tak-ented and much respected lawyer of Boston, to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States. George R. Hichborn, the well-known auction

eer of this city, has been reappointed by Gov. Andrew Justice of the Peace for the County of Suffolk. In distributing the food to the people of Sa vannah, Gen. Sherman ordered that no distinction should be made on account of color.

The interview of President Lincoln and Secretary Seward with the unofficial Rebei Peace Commissioners, at Fortress Monroe, has ended in amoke.

EMANCIPATION CELEBRATION

EMANCIPATION CELEBRATION.

Kanasa City, last night, was ablaze with glory over the inauguration of Freeedom in Missouri. The city was illuminated at an early hour, and many of the buildings presented a splendid speparance. The finest of all, was the Hammer-slough's splendid block on the corner of Main and Third streets, which was brilliantly lighted from top to bottom, and made a magnificent display. Many private residences were illuminated, and Kanasa City from her valleys and heights reflected a thousand brilliant beams in honor of the auspicious occasion.

Meanwhile, cannon were booming salutes, and bands discoursing sweet music. At an early hour the people commenced assembling at the Court House, and a large bonfire was set at the intersection of Main and Fourth streets. A meeting was speedily arranged in the Court House, and apseches appropriate to the occasion were made by Judge Boreman, Hon. M. J. Payne, M. T. Graham, Esq., Captain Johnson and otherers. All the speakers breathed high exultations over the changed condition of Missouri. It was felt that a new era had dawned upon the State, and a new destiny opened before her.

After the speaking had been prolonged until about half past eight, a recess was taken for the purpose of going out to meet Gen. Curtis, Senator Lane, and other distinguished guests who had come to mingle their rejoicings with ours over the downfall of slavery,—the great common enemy. And now appeared new actors upon the scene. The colored people of the city, rejoicing in their new-found freedom, had orners and transparencies and mottoes paraded the street, singing the great American hymn of freedom—the John Brown Song. Truly the soul of old John is marching on, and his sublime spirit now dominates the land.

The procession marched down Main street, and in company with an escort from the military of the Post escorted them to the Court House. An immense crowd had now assembled, not a tithe of which could be accommodated in the building, the dense mass blocking up the space and street i

statesman. He reviewed his own military career in this State, and the efforts he had ever made toward the grand consummation of freedom for the State.

Gen. Curtis is popular with the loyal people of Missouri, and is likely to continue so.

Gen. Lune spoke next. It was just the occasion for the display of the "Grim Chieftain's" most marked and successful talents as a stump orator. For three-quarters of an hour he kept the vast audience in a rapture of enthusiasm. He told them he was their representative, and that Kansas City was a part of his common constituency. He paid the most flattering encomiums to the importance of the town in a commercial point of view, and said that not a nail could be driven in Kansas City without its benefiting all Kansas. He reminded them of a prophecy he made in the early days of the Kansas struggle, that Missouri would be a free State before Kansas would be made a slave State. He rejoiced with Missouri over her disenthrallment. Altogether, Senator Lane seemed to feel in most admirable spirits, and he certainly succeeded in keeping his audience in a similar frame of mind.

Judge Safford, of the Supreme Court of Kansas, spoke next. His remarks were well timed, and gave great satisfaction to the people.

Judge Safford, of the Supreme Court of Kansas, spoke next. His remarks were well timed, and gave great satisfaction to the people.

The evening being well spent, an adjournment was made for supper, which was provided at the Bennett House, and at the Gillis House. Here toasts and speeches again took up their sway, and to crown all a grand dance extended into the "wee small hours" of the night. Thus did Kansas City celebrate the abolition of slavery in Missouri.—Journal of Com.

KANSAS SENDS GREETING TO MISSOURL The following resolutions have been unanimously adopted by the Kansas Legislature, concerning the abolition of slavery in Missouri. They speak the true spirit of sympathy and Union which we trust will hereafter characterize the people of both States. 1. Be it resolved by the House of Representatives

of the State of Kansas, the Senate concurring therein, that the State of Kansas to the State of Missouri sends greeting, congratulating her for her magnanimity and patriotism. The present generation will reward, and future generations will bless you; the nation will "rejoice, and your people will be glad," that unrequited labor is not known within your borders. No more will there be cause of variance between us! Nature has made us the same in interests, and we, under the has made us the same in interests, and we, under the blessings of Heaven, have made ourselves alike free. Brave Missouri! Kansas feels proud of you-Kansas rejoices with you; and while we drop a tear for the noble dead who have fallen in the stern conflict for constitutional and human freedom in your midst, we will look forward to a future radiant with hope; "your country shall be our country, and your God our God."

God."

2. The Governor of Kansas be requested to forward a copy of these resolutions to the Governor of Missouri.—Journal of the Times.

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT.

Washington, Feb. 2d. In response to a serenade last night, President Lincoln said he supposed the passage through Congress of the Constitutional Amendment for abolishing slavery throughout the United States was the occasion to which he was indebted for the honor of this call. (Applause.) The occasion was one of congratulation to the country, and to the whole world. But there is a task yet before us, to go forward and consummate by the votes of the States, that which Congress so nobly began yesterday. (Applause, and cries they will do it.) He had the honor to inform those present that Illinois had already to-day done the work. Maryland was about half through, but he felt proud that Illinois was a little ahead. He thought this measure was a very fitting, if not an indispensable adjunct to the winding up of the present difficulty. (Applause.)

He wished the Union of all the States perfected, and so effected to remove all causes of disturbance in the future; and to obtain this end it was necessary that the original disturbing cause should, if possible, be rooted out. He thought all would bear him witness that he had never shrunk from doing all that he could to eradicate slavery, by issuing an emancipation proclamation. (Applause.) But that proclamation falls far short of what the amendment will be when fully consummated.

A question might be raised whether the proclama-

ses has been secured for the occasion. No doubt the house will be crowded. "Rejoice with those who do rejoice."

Carpenter's Painting. The exhibition of Mr. Carpenter's admirable picture of "The Emancipation Proclamation before the Cabinet," will positively close on Saturday.

This great national and purely historical work has been on exhibition at Williams and Everett's for more than eight weeks, and from the opening of the exhibition until the present moment has excited a degree of interest rarely surpassed by any work of art ever seen

interest rarely surpassed by any work of art ever seen in Boston. It will be exhibited in Portland next week.

The Amendment to the Constitution. In accordance with the order of His Excellency Governor Andrew, the bells of the city were rung between the hours of ten and eleven o'clock yesterday forenoon, and a national salute of one hundred guns was fired from the Common, in honor of the signing by President Lincoln of the Constitutional Amendment prohibiting slavery in the United States. The national flag was displayed from the public buildings, and from unother. Also, \$50 from another, and \$20 from another. Also, \$50 from another, and \$20 from another. Also, \$50 from Edward Harris, Esq., of Woonsecket, R. I.

It gives us much pleasure to announce that, with such aids as these, and the liberal donations of our friends Erenezer D. and George Draper, (each \$100,) and W. W. Dutcher, (\$50,) all of Hopedale, we shall not only be able to continue our friends Erenezer D. and George Draper, (each \$100,) and W. W. Dutcher, (\$50,) all of Hopedale, we shall not only be able to continue our friends. The statement, we are sure, will be peculiarly gratifying to our readers.

George Thompson, Esq. gave a most faithful and impressive lecture before the Boston Young

RATIFICATION OF THE AMENDMENT. Both branches of the Massachusetts Legislature Friday afternoon unanimously passed the bill ratifying the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery. The Legislatures of Maine and of Illinois have also adopted the amendment, with great unanimity. So also has the Legislature of the Empire State. So will the Legislatures of all the loyal States.

BALTIMORE, Feb. 3, 1865.
The Senate of Maryland to-day passed the Constitutional Amendment, abolishing slavery in concurrence with the action of the House previously re-ported.

HARRISBURG, Pa., Feb. 3, 1865.

Both branches of the Legislature to-day adopted a bill ratifying the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery.

WHEELING, Va., Feb. 3, 1865.
The Congressional Amendment abolishing slavery in the United States was unanimously ratified by both branches of the West Virginia Legislature to-day.

Destructive Fire at Savannah. A disastrous fire occurred in Savannah on the night of Jan. 27th, by which a large amount of property was destroyed, and on the following morning another fire broke out, destroying two entire squares. Buildings were torn down to stay the conflagration. The fires were unquestionably the work of rebels, as a keg of powder with the head off was placed nearlithe arsenal, the latter containing 30 tons of powder.

COLORED MEN'S RIGHTS OF TRAVEL. The following is the bill introduced into the United States Senste on Saturday by Mr. Wilson:

"Be it enacted, &c., That no person shall be excluded from travel upon any railroad or navigable waters of the United States on account of color, or by reason of any State law or municipal ordinance, or of any rule, regulation or usage of any corporation, company or person whatsoever; and colored passengers shall be subject and amenable to the same laws, ordinances, rules, regulations and usages as all white passengers; and any corporation, company, or person, offending against the provisions of this act shall, upon conviction in any court of the United States, be punished by a fine not less than \$500, or by imprisonment not less than six months; provided that nothing herein contained shall interfere with any executive order made under the law of the United States."

In Weymouth, on Thursday last week, an explosion took place in the pyrotechnic manufactory of S. E. Hunt, by which three young women were killed and one badly injured. Two of the deceased were daughters of Isaac Binney, and the other a daughter of Samuel Phillips.

JUBILEE MEETING OF THE COLORED CITI-ZENS OF BOSTON!

AT TREMONT TEMPLE.

A meeting will be held at Tremont Temple, Boston, on Monday Evening, Feb. 13, by the colored citizens of Boston, and those who are friendly to the celebration of the passage by Congress of the Amendment to the Constitu-tion abolishing Slavery forever. Addresses will be delived by Wendell Phillips, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, George Thompson of England, John S. Rock, Wm. Wells Brown and others. The chair will be taken at half-past 7 o'-clock, precisely. Admission 15 cents. The proceeds above the expenses to go to the Freedmen.

MRS. FRANCES ELLEN HARPER, of Maryand, the gifted colored oratress, who has charmed thousands by her eloquence, will speak in FRATERNITY HALL, 554 Washington street, on Sunday evening next, at half past 7 o'clock, upon topics suggested by the state of

the country.

A collection will be taken at the close of the services. Give her a full house, and a generous contribution !

THE TRIBUNE ALMANAC FOR 1865. The third edition of this popular Annual now ready. In addition to the usual CALENDAR AND ASTRONOMICA L CALCULATIONS, it contains :

United States Government, Ministers, &c. Senators and Representatives of XXXVIIIth Congress. XXXIXth Congress, so far as chosen.

Laws passed at the last Session of Congress. Public Resolutions and Proclamations. Party P atforms of 1864, (Baltimore and Chicago.) The Reb I Government, Congressmen, &c. Slavehole ers' Rebellion, or Chronicle of War Events. Native St tes of the American-born People. Election Return, for President, Governors, Congressmen,

&c., in 1864, compared with the Presidential Vote in 1860. tate Capitals, Governors, Salaries, Time Legislature

meet, Time of State Elections. erritorial Capitals and Governors. pular vote by States in 1854, 1860, and 1864. Vote of 1860 elaborately analyzed and compared, by Population, Free and Slave, with percentage, &c.

PRICE 20 CENTS. SEVEN COPIES FOR ONE DOL-Orders (enclosing cash) should be addressed:

THE TRIBUNE. Jan. 27. New York.

IMPROVEMENT IN Champooing and Hair Dyeing "WITHOUT SMUTTING."

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER WOULD inform the public that she has removed from 223 Washington Street, to

No. 31 WINTER STREET. No. 31 WINTER STREET,
where she will attend to all diseases of the Hair.
She is sure to cure in nine cases out of ten, as she has
for many years made the hair her study, and is sure there
are none to excel her in producing a new growth of hair.
Her Restorative differs from that of any one else, being
made from the roots and herbs of the forest.
She Champoos with a bark which does not grow in this
country, and which is highly beneficial to the hair before
using the Restorative, and will prevent the hair from
turning grey.

urning grey.

She also has another for restoring grey hair to its natu-She also has another for restoring grey hair to its natural color in nearly all cases. She is not afraid to speak of her Restoratives in any part of the world, as they are used in every city in the country. They are also packed for her customers to take to Europe with them, enough to last two or three years, as they often say they can get nothing abroad like them.

MADAME CARTEAUX BANNISTER.

GAS FIXTURES. THE undersigned begs leave to inform his friends and the public, that (owing to ill health) he has been obliged to leave his situation at Mosers. H. B. Stanwood & Co's, now Messrs. Shreve, Stanwood & Co's, where he has been cuployed for the last fourteen years, the work being too heavy for his physical strength, and is now prepared to do all manner of

JOBBING ON GAS FIXTURES, in the most careful manner. New Fixtures furnished and put up, old Fixtures and Glass Drope cleaned, leaks stopped, Gas Fixtures done over, and Gas Glasses of all kinds furnished at short notice. Also, Gas Burners of all the approved kinds.

Particular attention given to Lighting up for Parties.

approved kinds.

Particular attention given to Lighting up for Parties.

Shop under the Mariboro' Hotel. Orders may be left at Mesers. Hall & Stowell's Provision Store, 132 Charles attent, Boston.

Refers to Shreve, Stanwood & Co.

Oct. 30—1y

Ayer's 'herry Pectoral,

Coughs, Colds. Influenza, Hoarseness, Croup, Bronchitis, Incipient Consumption, and for the relief of Consumptice Patients in advanced stages of the disease.

tis, Incipient Consumption, and for the relief of Consumptive Patients in advanced stages of the disease.

So wide is the field of its usefulness, and so numerous are the cases of its cures, that almost every section of the country abounds in persons publicly known, who have been restored from alarming and even desperate diseases of the lungs by its use. When once tried, its superiority over every other expectorant is too apparent to escape observation: and where its virtues are known, the public no longer hesitate what antidote to employ for the distressing and dangerous affections of the pulmonary organs that are incident to our climate. While many inferior remedies thrust upon the community have failed and been discarded, this has gained friends by every trial, conferred benefits on the afflicted they can never forget, and produced cures too numerous and too remarkable to be forgotten.

We can only assure the public, that its quality is carefully kept up to the best it ever has been, and that it may be relied on to do for their relief all that it has ever done. Great numbers of clergymen, physicians, statesmen, and eminent personnges, have lent their names to certify the unparalleled usefulness of our remedies, but space here will not permit the insertion of them. The agents below named furnish gratis the American Almanac, in which they are given; with also full descriptions of the complaints they cure.

Those who require an alterative medicine to purify the blood will find Athen's Comp. Ext. Sansararilla the remedy to use. Try it once, and you will know its value.

Prepared by J. C. AYER & CO. Lowell, Mass. and sold by all draggists.

Jan. 6.

CARPENTER'S Great National Picture THE

Emancipation Proclamation BEFORE THE CABINET.

PAINTED on canvass, measuring 14 1-2 by 9 feet, and containing full-length life-size Portraits of President Lincoln, Secretaries Seward, Chase, Stanton, Wells, Smith, Postmater General Blain, and Attorney-General Bates, together with a faithful representation of the Old Cabinet Council Chamber in the White House.

WILLIAMS & EV & hETT'S, Boston, Jan. 25.

WANTED,

A MAN and wife to take charge of a small farm; one who is willing to work with his own hands, and likes to take care of stock, and makes no use of intext-eating drinks, tobacco, or profane language.

Such an one may have a good situation by corresponding with West Gloucester, Mass., Jan. 4.

For the Liberator. TO MY DEAD MOTHER. BY KATY CARLISLE.

Mother ! O, mother ! when sad thoughts have pressed Their weight of passionate anguish on the breast, How reach the arms out wildly, with a prayer, To clasp thee once, and find but empty air ! Mother, I've missed thee in the sad, sad years Of orphaned childhood, doomed to early tears. When stranger hands fell heavy on the head Where thy dear hands in tenderness were laid But with each changing moon of passing years, In these sad years of early womanhood. I miss thee more than e'er my childhood could ; When those I love for more than heart can guest Blush at my faults and deep unworthiness, I think if God had spared thy teachings mild, To thy poor wayward, wild and passionate child, Blest with thy guiding hand, thy gentle tone, Both fair and lovable I might have grown. Well I recall those memories, sadly sweet, Of days when I sat listening at thy feet The holy hymns that lulled my cradle sleep ; The song-whose plaintive music made me weep For all thy dearest songs were wildly sad, And even thy smiles a pensive sadness had; And the sweet tales that charmed my childish ears Were often those that filled my eyes with tears; Yet some were glad, and all were made t' impari Some pure and noble lessons to my heart : Androcles, or, the Lion and the Slave," The poet's mournful story, " Gelert's Grave," That simple, but immortal English tale That makes so many small round cheeks grow pale-So many child-hearts feel that God is good, And love the robins: "Children in the Wood." Or how Judean shepherds visited The Heavenly Babe in manger-cradle laid, Who for all children's sakes sweet pattern lent, And childhood's years in meek obedience spent. Such stories, safely stored in memory, With simple prayers that bowed my infant knee, Are closely blent with every thought of thee. And I remember, one dark, chilly day, Leaving our old home for one far away, Thy mind was filled with cloudy fears, that when We reached that home our eyes had never seen, 'T would be so drear and lonely we would turn, With homesick eyes, the brighter past to mourn; Till a rich crimson damask rose was brought, By friendly hands, from that new, far-off cot; When straight thy heart was reconciled, for flow'rs Were the dear solace of thy saddest hours. And, oh ! that home, whence since thy spirit passed-On whose bright scenes thy dear eyes lingered last-Though far the lowliest home that blessed our eyes, For beauty, 'twas a very Paradise! The fragrant climbing rose did overground Thy chamber wall and trellised portico; The ivy's beauteous gloom of foliage swept Over one wall; the honeysuckle crept, With its red berries, or its clust'ring bloom, Above one window of that lowly home; And from one sunny hill anear us, we Caught silver glimpses of the far-off sea. That sea !- in this thy child resembles thee, Her soul thrills to the glory of the sea !-That sen! its broad blue waves now roll between Thy child's sad eyes and that remembered scene !-And, oh ! forgive me ! On this Western strand My heart has learned to love this stranger land ! I miss our flowers ; -our primrose pale and sweet, Our delicate hairbell quivering at my feet, Nor purple heath, nor yellow furze, appear, And even our own wild daisy blooms not here; Yet where strange flow'rs their tinted 'broidery spread, Our fair blue violet lifts its timid head ; Our rose is here, in the same beauty drest And pale queen-lily that I loved the best. But dearer far than violets e'er may be, Are the blue eyes that kindly looked on me; Purer than lilies are the hands that broad Have scattered brightness o'er my shadowy road

And one sweet friend, more dear than all the rest, And, since my mother, kindest, truest, best; Who stooped, in all her peerless loveliness, To lift me from despair to happiness. So high above me, my soul's aim grew high With reaching toward her ; and my lifted eve Grew strong with looking upward ; and 't were sweet, Even to my proud heart, kneeling at her feet. I sloried in her beauty :--did I meet A fair, fair woman passing in the street, I thought within me, "She is very fair-But, oh ! my lovely friend is past compare Where is the waving of the gold-brown hair, The classic moulding of the features fair ; Where the bright changing of the lips and eyes Filling you ever with a new surprise? Where on the forehead doth the brightness shine, The chrism of Genius, like this friend of mine? I sorrowed for her sorrows. Wrongs and woe Such as few mortals in one life-span know Had paled the roses of her early May— Had stolen the gladness of her life away. Her fair young face, with sorrow's rain bepearled She hid full closely from the pitiless world ;-The very sunlight seemed a hateful thing, Music a discord. Nought below could bring Comfort or hope. Prone on the earth she lay Weeping as she would weep her life away.

Naught but those tear-drops, and the anguished cry That from her blanch'd lips reached the Throne on high Saved her from madness and the maniae's cell. Father in heaven, who doest all things well, The woe that sought thee in a wordless prayer, Or broken words at best, could bring Thee near, With all th' encircling strength an Of thy great Arm, to help her helplessness !

For the Liberator. O. SING OF LIBERTY! A PARODY.

BY R. THAYER.

Ain-" There'll be no sorrow there."

O, sing of Liberty For all, both low and high; When men in chains no more shall be Obliged to live and die : There'll be no sorrow then; There'll be no sorrow then : When every heart is filled with love For all its fellow-men.

Shall fall, in sweetest strain. "No more shall man his brother fear, Nor wear the galling chain : There'll be no sorrow then, &c.

Then cruel war shall cease And peace on earth shall reign, Our land enjoy a sweet release From Slavery's damning stain There 'll be no sorrow then, &c.

Our country then shall be The pride of all the lands, When North and South all men we se Joining fraternal hands :

The angels then shall sing As at the Savior's birth "Glad tidings to the world we bring, Sweet peace to men on earth: There'll be no sorrow then, There 'll be no sorrow then ; When every heart is filled with love

Boston, Feb. 1, 1865.

Selections.

SPEECH OF GENERAL BUTLER.

We take the following extract from the recent speech of Gen. Butler, delivered in Lowell, Mass., and reported in the Boston Journal :-

I propose, with your leave, to recall to your minds I propose, with your leave, to recall to your minds what has happened to the army in the field, and especially what has occurred within the narrower circle where I have endeavored to serve the interests of the country since I left you a year ago November of the country since I lett you a year ago November last. Called by the partial kindness of the President to take command of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina, upon reaching Fortress Monroe, and looking about to see what duties devolved upon me, I found there, in the first place, demanding immediate attention, eighty thousand freedmen, women and children, who had escaped from slavery, and thrown themselves as wards upon the guardianship of the United States. There was no departmental organization for their care, maintenance, protection and education.

My first duty, then, upon assuming command, in the absence of active military operation, seemed to be toward the helpless beings thus cast upon our hands. I knew what you would have said ought to be done under the circumstances, and I did as I thought you would have done. I established system, order and organization of labor, so that the freedman who would work could work; and those who would not work might find means whereby they should work; and so that every freedman, woman and child should have what, thank God, we always have had in Massachusetts for all, food and raiment and protection from the inclemency of the weather. (Applause.) Aided by your fellow-citizens, Capt. Wilder, Capt. Brown and Capt. James, I applied myself to this work, and presently order and industry arose out of the chaos in the affairs of the freedmen in North Carolina and Virginia. The organization of those affairs was carried on still further under the charge of Lieut. Col. Kinsman, and has since been continued under the superintendence of your townsman, Major Carney. We have, as the My first duty, then, upon assuming command, in under the charge of Lieut. Col. Kinsman, and has since been continued under the superintendence of your townsman, Major Carney. We have, as the result of one year's work in that Department, five thousand men brought into the army of the United States without bounty; and how many more with bounty I do not know, because they were credited to were dealt out to them, one hundred thousand dollars. And all this in two Districts, having many large losses in the negro affairs of North Carolina, because of the disturbance of labor from the miles. The product is the ground, crept under buildings, or shivered through the nights in the open air, upon the frozen, muddy or snowy soil. If the rebels at the time of their capture had not stolen their shelter tents, blankets, clothing and money them. dollars. And all this in two Districts, having many large losses in the negro affairs of North Carolina, because of the disturbance of labor from the yellow fever, the fall of Plymouth, and the evacuation of Washington in April last, by the order of the Lieutenant General. Within the same space of time we have succeeded in demonstrating that these negroes are capable of being educated. Aided by the self-sacrificing labors of benevolent teachers from the sacrificing labors of benevolent teachers from the North, hundreds and thousands of children have been taught to read, and adults too, who never read even furnish half the fuel which was needed. before. And thus the negro is being fitted for that new state of liberty and citizenship to which he has war. (Applause.)
The next matter in order of time to which my at-

tention was called was the exchange of prisoners, a subject which interests every man, woman and child who has a brother, son, husband or father in the army. That also was placed in my hands by the partiality of the President. I found the former commissioner of exchange of the United States, and the agent acting in behalf of the Confederate States, and the agent acting in behalf of the Confederate States, and the agent acting in behalf of the Confederate States, and the agent acting in behalf of the Confederate States, and the confederate S the agent acting in benail of the Contender are States, the contending upon questions as to how the accounts in regard to the exchange of prisoners should be authorities never supplied a single blanket, or quilt, kept, whether the United States had received a few or pillow, or bed, for those eight wards; we could more or less than the Confederate States, or the contrary, and a state of embittered feeling had arisen between them, so that exchanges had been suspended I therefore tried the experiment to see if the Confederates would return man for man, they giving us as many soldiers as we gave to them. was done; and laying all other questions aside, a special exchange went on. Some time in March last, Mr. Ould, the Confederate agent of exchange, came to Fortress Monroe, and there, after a full discussion of all matters of difference. just and equitable understanding, arranging the adjustment of numbers delivered, paroled and exhunger, without any matured plan, a few of them changed on all disputed points but one, and that re-lated to the exchange of negro soldiers. The Con-let us break out of this horrid place." Some of then federate agent persisted that negroes heretofore in bondage, when captured, should be treated as slaves. at work as slaves under their masters. I could not permit. Whoever had worn the uniform the fence, but they had neither adequate tools nor of the United States as a soldier was entitled to its concert of action. Before they could effect a breach, of the United States as a soldier was entitled to its protection in the fullest sense. Having settled all else, however, I had determined to bring about a system of special exchange until we should receive all the white men held by the rebels, and give them. Five minutes from the beginning the attempt was an equal number in exchange, and thus all our white soldiers should be liberated. When the exchange of man for man had given us all our white from the scene of the insurrection; in our vicinity

diers in theirs. Arriving at that point, I proposed to say to the Confederates, we are willing to take these five hundred men, and give you an equal number of your soldiers. If the rebels refused that offer, and still held our negro soldiers in bondage and at labor, I designed to say to them: " If you do not deliver m those men, like other prisoners of war, and if you work those five hundred, I will work your fifteen thousand;" and as Napoleon built the canal of Lan-guedoc with forty thousand Austrian prisoners of war, so will this government build the ship canal we want to connect the Mississippi river with the lakes, by the labor of the rebel prisoners in our hands. My word for it, if that stand had been taken, we uld never had built much canal, because, when afterward the rebels set some of my negro soldiers at work on the fortifications, and I put an equal number of Virginia Reserves at work in Dutch Gap in retaliation, the negroes were instantly taker out

of the trenches, and treated as prisoners of war. I reported the points of agreement between my-elf and the rebel agent to the Secretary of War, and asked for power to adjust the other questions of difference so as to have the question of enslaving negro soldiers stand alone to be dealt with by itself, negro soldiers stand alone to be used while and that the whole power of the United States should be exerted to do justice to those who had fought the battles of the country, and been captured

The whole subject was referred by the Secretary of War to the Lieutenant General commanding, who of war to the Licutenant General commanding, who telegraphed me on the fourteenth of April, 1864, in substance: "Break off all negotiations on the subject of exchange till further orders." And therefore all negotiations were broken off, save that a special exchange of sick and wounded on either side

to the rebels. To that I answered, on the same usy:
"Lieut. Gen. Grant's instructions shall be implicitly
obeyed. I assume that you do not mean to stop the
special exchange of the sick and wounded now going
"To this I received a reply in substance: "Do special exchange of the sick and wounded now going on." To this I received a reply in substance: "Do take the rebels a single able-bodied man." From that hour, so long as I remained in the Department, latty here, I shall follow my comrades to the hospital exchanges of prisoners stonged under the color. exchanges of prisoners stopped under that order, because I could not give the rebels any of their ablesand of our suffering soldiers were relieved, being upwards of eight thousand more than we gave the rebels.

In August last, Mr. Ould, finding negotiations were broken off, and that no exchanges were made, wrote to Gen. Hitchcock, the Commissioner at Washington, that the rebels were ready to exchange, man for man, all the prisoners held by them, as I had proposed in December.

or man, an the prisoners near by them, as I had proposed in December.

Under the instructions of the Lieutenant General, I wrote to Mr. Ould a letter which has been published, saying: "Do you mean all? Do you mean to not diplomatically, but obtrusively and demonstra-tively, not for the purpose of furthering exchange of prisoners, but for the purpose of preventing and stopping the exchange, and furnishing a ground on which we could fairly stand.

As the men grew more and more debilitated, the deaths increased. I left about 6,500 in the garrison,

which we could fairly stand.

I am now at liberty to state these facts, because
they appear in the correspondence on the subject of
exchange, now on the public files of Congress, furmished by the War Department upon resolution.

am not at liberty to state my opinion as to the cor-rectness and propriety of this course of action of the Lieutenant General in relation to exchanges, be-cause, as it is not proper to utter a word of condem-nation of any act of my superiors, I may not even applaud where I think them right, lest not applaud-ing in other instances such acts as I may marking ing in other instances such acta as I may would imply censure. I only desire that the sibility of stopping exchanges of prisoners, be it wise or unwise, should rest upon the Lieutenant General commanding, and not upon me. I have carried the weight of so grave a matter for nine months, and now propose, as the facts are laid before Congress and the country, not to carry any longer any more of it than belower to me. of it than belongs to me.

INHUMAN TREATMENT OF PEDERAL SOL-DIERS IN REBEL PRISONS.

TESTIMONY OF A. D. RICHARDSON

We have received, at too late an hour for publica tion entire, a printed slip of a telegraphic dispatch from Washington, giving the testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, of Albert D. Richardson, one of the *Tribune* correspondents, captured May 6, 1863. For several months he was confined at Salisbury, N. C. Of this prison he

county I do not know, because they were credited to coat or blanket; many hundreds were without shirts the several States in whose regiments they enlisted, and not to the United States. By the labors of this year we have demonstrated that the former slave population of the South can be self-supporting, even without a large proportion of the able-bodied men. We saved from the government rations alone, which were dealt out to them, one hundred thousand the forces, middly or snow seil. If the related to

The hospitals were in a horrible condition. By new state of liberty and citizenship to which he has been raised. Such are some of the results of this They were always full to overflowing, with thousand seeking admission in vain. In the two largest wards, containing jointly about two hundred and fifty patients, there was no fire whatever,-the others ha

small fire-places, but were always cold.

One ward, which held forty patients, was comparatively well furnished. In the other eight, the sick and dying men lay upon the cold, and usually

wrested the guns from a relief of fifteen rebel sol diers just entering the yard, killing two who resisted ounding five or six. Others attempted to open

soldiers in their prisons, there would still remain about fifteen or twenty thousand rebel prisoners in our hands, and only about five hundred negro solupon the fence on each side of us, with deliberate aim, fired into the tents upon helpless and innocent men. They killed, in all, fifteen and wounded sixty, not one-tenth of whom had taken part in the at-

tempt; many of them were ignorant of it until they heard the guns.

Deliberate, cold-blooded murders of peaceable men, where there was no pretence that they were breaking any prison regulation, were very frequent. On October 16th, Lawton Davis, of One hundred and fifty-eighth New York infantry, was thus shot dead by a guard, who, the day before, had been openly swearing that he would "kill some damned Yankee yet." Nov. 6th, Luther Conrad, of 45th Pennsylvania infantry—a delirious patient, from one of the hospitals—was similarly murdered. ber 3d, a chimney in one of the hospitals f hospitals fell down crushing several men under it. Orders were imm diately given to the guard to let no one approach the building, on the pretext that there might be another

insurrection. Two patients from that hospital had not heard the rder, and were returning to their quarters, w saw a sentinel on the fence, within twenty feet of them, without challenging them, raise his piece and fire, killing one and wounding the other. Major Gee, at the time, was standing immediately beside the sentinel, so he must have acted under his direct orders. Dec. 16, Moses Smith of Seventh Maryland (colored) infantry, while standing beside my quar-ters searching for scraps of food from the sweepings of the cook-house, was shot through the head. There were very many similar murders. I never knew an pretence even made of investigating or punish them. Our lives were never safe for a mome

substance: "Break off all negotiations on the subject of exchange till further orders." And therefore all negotiations were broken off, save that a
special exchange of sick and wounded on either side
went on.

On the 20th of April I received another telegram
from Gen Grant, ordering not another man to be given
to the rebels. To that I answered, on the same day:
"Lieut. Gen. Grant's instructions shall be implicitly
abundant food. Between twelve hundred and eightoen hundred of our men enlisted in two months. een hundred of our men enlisted in two months I stay here, I shall follow my comrades to the hospital and the dead house. If I enlist, I may live until

can escape."

I had charge of clothing left by the dead, and re issued it to the living. I distributed articles of cloth-ing to more than two thousand prisoners; but when I escaped, there were fully five hundred without a shoe or a stocking; and more yet, with no garmen above the waist, except one blouse or one shirt.

Men came to me frequently, upon whom the rebels,
when they captured them, had left nothing whatever
except a light cotton shirt and a pair of light, ragged

cotton pantalcons.

The books of all the hospitals were kept, and the I wrote to Mr. Ould a letter which has been published, saying: "Do you mean all? Do you mean to give up all your action and revoke all your laws about black men employed as soldiers?" These questions were therein argued, justly, as I think—not diplomatically, but obtrusively and demonstratively, not for the wrote the remainder were ally 1,500, or twenty per cent. of the whole. I brought away the names of more than twelve hundred of the dead; some of the remainder were accounted.

The prison limits at Salisbury revealed a scene of wretchedness, squalor, despair and suffering such as 1—accustomed as I am to army life and the horrors of military hospitals and battle-fields—had never befor witnessed. The prison authorities—especially after the massacre attending the attempted outbreak of Nov. 25th—appeared not only indifferent to the miserable condition of the men, but to be actuated by a brutality and malignity towards them that I could not reconcile with my idea of human nature. They permitted the guards to shoot prisoners whenever they pleased, without the least pretext or whenever they pleased, without the least pretext of explanation, and no man's life was safe for a day or an hour. The air was full of pain and pestilence; and all the horrors of imagined hells seemed realized in that most wretched place, of which I shall never think without a shudder, and a lessened faith in the possibilities of humanity.

Recently, the Vice President elect made a speech at Nashville, Tenn., in which he referred to his long life-struggle with the aristocratic tendencies of his State. He expressed the deepest gratitude that he had lived to see an "insolent, insincere, ignorant, nnsfeeling, hypocritical, nefarious, diabolical slave aristocracy" tumble to the ground. He spoke for the poor white no less than for the freedman, and said by the present issue of events more white than black men, were emancipated. The new times welled with the loftiest sentiments, and he swayed

swelled with the lottiest sentiments, and he swayed them by his earnest and powerful eloquence.

As we gaze on his picture, we are struck with the contrast which his biography affords. How great is the stride from the tailor boy who could not read a letter, to the Vice President of the United States! fact. Only a few years ago, the apprentice, after his ten or twelve hours' work was done, could be seen poring over his spelling-book, and put-ting syllables together. The time that so many young men waste in idle and frivolous pursuits he pent in learning how to read. Going across the nountains from North Carolina, he settled in Tennessee, worked at his trade, and soon married a wife who taught him how to write. Thus furnished, he made rapid strides in knowledge, until the tailor

boy, who could not read a letter, becomes chief mag-istrate of the State, an eloquent debater in the United States Senate, and vice-president.

There is something grand in this picture. It is a triumphant illustration of our institutions. In no nation in the world do we see so many examples of this kind. Here is a high official, with large and and placed in our lines by this proclamation, but that the number is large, and in proportion as it is love of liberty, swaying men by his eloquent speech, and instructing them by his prescient statesmanship; and yet he never saw the inside of a school-house in his boyhood. What a tribute to the innate force of his character! It was the battle with difficulties that made him strong, energetic, self-reliant. Referring to his efforts in ochalf of a better state of society in Tennessee, before the war, he said: "Because, many years ago, I dared to speak of these things, I was denounced as an agrarian and demander of the speak of the self-reliant of them are concerned, would gladly see this government weakened by disunion. This they have shown ment weakened by disunion. This they have shown cause, many years ago, I dared to speak of these things, I was denounced as an agrarian and demagogue, who appealed to the prejudices of the people.
Thank God, I have lived to see the day when the
people of my State have declared themselves free.
I must now urge you to redouble your efforts to

While, therefore, the jealousy of their govern-

modified, reformed, and adapted to the progress of the people. There is no provision for its destruction. Had this proclamation been withheld, and this issue but for its perfection. These are changing times and a changing world, and mind and matter are undergoing continual changes. Two things only change the people is human reason and the swergingty of the people letter of Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President of the cooled dergoing continual changes. I we things only change not: human reason and the sovereignty of the people letter of Alexander H. Stephens, Vice President of the so-called Southern Confederacy, tends strongly to confirm this view of the question. He says: "The out-the road along which the nations of the earth silent sympathy of England, France and other Eu-

nust travel.

In the midst of the darkness which has been resting on the land for three years, a darkness deeper than that of the dark ages—from you, sitting in the midst of carnage and of death, has gone forth a light to illuminate the world, and teach mankind that you can be free. I feel that God smiles on what you have done age that the times that the properties of the hard source of the lack man would not fight. Said Jackson, at New Ordens were restricted to the same would not fight. Said Jackson, at New Ordens were restricted to the same would not fight. Said Jackson, at New Ordens were restricted to the subject of negro slavery. Lincoln had either to witness our recognition abroad, the moral powers of the man would break down the war, or to make it an emancipation war."

to deposit his bones, I thank you again for the noble work which you have done."

This is a glorious illustration of what force of character will accomplish. Here is a man, a peer among the foremost statesmen of his times, who is self-made. With a courage that is a stranger to fear, with a patriotism that has the fervor of a blazing passion, with a grasp of principles and commanding oratory that stirs and instructs crowds, he is a standing engineering of what seal devoting will and standing memorial of what zeal, devotion, will and native endowments can accomplish. And his career should inspire every young man with high re

GEN. SHERMAN ON THE NEGROES.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA SEA ISLANDS SET APART FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CONTRABANDS.

HDORS. MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISS.,) In the Field, Savannah, Ga. Jan. 16, 1865. SPECIAL ORDERS, No. 15.—I. The islands from Charleston south, the abandoned rice-fields alon the rivers for thirty miles back from the sea, an the rivers for thirty mices back from the sea, and the country bordering the St. John River, Florida, are reserved and set apart for the settlement of the negroes now made free by the acts of war and the proclamation of the President of United States. II. At Beaufort, Hilton Head, Savannah, Fer-nandina, St. Agustine and Jacksonville, the blacks

management of affairs will be left to the freed peo-ple themselves, subject only to the United States military authority and the acts of Congress. By the laws of war and orders of the President of the management of all arise will be left to the freed people themselves, subject only to the United States military authority and the acts of Congress. By the laws of war and orders of the President of the United States, the negro is free, and must be dealt with as such. He cannot be subjected to conscription or forced military service, save by the written orders of the bighest military authority of the epartment, under such regulations as the President or Congress may prescribe. Domestic servants, blacksmiths, carpenters and other mechanics will be free to select their own work and residence; but the young and able-bodied negroes must be encouraged to enlist as soldiers in the service of the United States, to contribute their share toward maintaining their own freedom, and securing their rights as citzens of the United States. Negroes so enlisted will be organized into companies, battalions and regiments, under orders of the United States military authorities, and will be paid, fed and clothed, according to law. The bounties paid on enlistment

murdering our soldiers at Salisbury, by cold and hunger, while they might easily supply them with ample food and fuel. They are dying thus systematically, and I believe are killed intentionally for the purpose of either forcing our government to an exchange, or forcing our prisoners into the rebel army.

Junius Henri Browne, another army correspondent of the New York Tribune, confined in the same prison, substantially confirms the above. In conclusion he says:

The prison limits at Salisbury revealed a scene of them to establish a peaceable agricultural settle-ment. The three parties named will subdivide the

ment. The three parties named will subdivide the land, under the supervision of the Inspector, among themselves, and such others as may choose to settle near them, so that each family shall have a plot of not more than forty acres of tillable ground, and when it borders on some water channel, with not more than eight hundred feet front, in the possession of which land the military authorities will afford them protection until such times as they can protect themselves, or until Congress shall possible. emselves, or until Congress shall regulate their title. The Quartermaster may, on the requisition of the Inspector of Settlements and Plantations, place at the disposal of the Inspector one or more of the captured steamers, to ply between the settlements and one or more of the commercial points heretofore named in orders, to afford the settlers the opportunity to supply their necessary wants and to sell the products of their land and labor.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

There is a class of men who rise in the Church or State by the force of their own characters, and become representative. They gain their position by means of industry, force of character and moral qualities. In this country we have very many examples, and they quicken the activity of every young man who is filled with an honorable ambition. They should stimulate the young, and incite them to make a faithful use of their opportunities for improvement. as above defined, or unless absent on Government service, will be entitled to claim any right to land or Recently, the Vice President elect made a speech property in any settlement, by virtue ders.

said by the present issue of events more white than black men were emancipated. The new times would make manhood the test of merit. As this stalwart man stood up in that convention of five hundred delegates who had made themselves memorable for their action in behalf of liberty, his soul swelled with the loftiest sentiments, and he swayed the negro recruits, and protecting their interests while so absent from their settlements, and will be governed by the rules and regulations prescribed by he War Department for such purpose.

VI. Brig. Gen. R. Saxton is hereby appointed In-

spector of Settlements and Plantations, and will at once enter on the performance of his duties. No change is intended or desired in the settlement now on Beaufort Islands, nor will any rights to property heretofore acquired be affected thereby.

By order of Maj.-Gen. W. T. SHERMAN. L. M. Dayton, Major and Assist. Adj.-Gen.

THE NEGRO TROOPS.

Upon the Negro question, the Governor of Wisonsin, in his recent message, says: -

I have not the data at hand to show the actual number that have been taken from the rebels, and placed in our lines by this proclamation, but I must now urge you to redouble your efforts to carry out your work when you go hence."

Again, in speaking of the future, he adds: "This government was created to live in perpetuity. It was sent on a great mission to the nations of the earth, which is not yet fulfilled. It is destined to pass through great trials to give evidence that it is fit for its work. Its Constitution can be

done, and that it meets the approbation of the hosts that surround Him. O, how it contrasts with the shricks, and cries, and wailings which the institution of slavery has brought on the land!

Look along the battle-fields of Tennessee—at the new made graves. Witness your countrymen perishities, that noble enthusiasm which impels to great dead." It is not the same of th Look along the battle-fields of Tennessee—at the new made graves. Witness your countrymen perishing in battle; see even the Goddess of Liberty, struggling through desolation, carnage, and blood, and almost driven from our borders! Might I not say with the poet:

"O, bloodiest picture in the book of time!"

And yet, out of all this gloomy seene beams a light to illuminate the world in future years. As your fellow-citizen, who expects in some of your valleys fellow-citizen which impels to great deeds." It is unnecessary, however, to refer to the opinions held of these men, or their deeds." It is unnecessary, however, to refer to the opinions held of these men, or their deeds." It is unnecessary, however, to refer to the opinions held of these men, or their deeds." It is unnecessary, however, to refer to the opinions held of these men, or their deeds." It is unnecessary, however, to refer to the opinions held of these men, or their deeds." It

fought beside them, and did not consider themselves dishonored. Thousands of our noble soldiers are fighting beside them to-day with honor; and I strongly doubt whether the man who fails to respond to his country's call for fear of being dishonored by fighting beside the black man—for fear of being dishonored by seeing a posticity black was proceeded. honored by seeing a patriotic black man offer up his life on the altar of liberty—will not be found want-ing in the day of trial, and fail to serve his country

COLORED TROOPS AND COLORED GENE-RALS.

Brigedier-General Wm. Birney has addressed a letter to Dr. John H. Rapier, A. A. Surg., U. S. A., from which we take the following extracts. The anti-slavery character of the writer, which, hereditary in the blood, has exhibited itself in manifold ways since the war began, and in none more conspicuously than in his connection with our colored volunteers, entitles his judgment to great weight in the question

your letter of the 7th inst., requesting me to endorse a petition for permission to raise a number of colored regiments to be officered exclusively by colored men.

proclamation of the President of United States.

II. At Beaufort, Hilton Head, Savannah, Fernandina, St. Augustine and Jacksonville, the blacks may remain in their chosen or accustomed vocations; but on the islands and in the settlements hereafter to be established, no white person whatever, unless military officers and soldiers detailed for duty, will be permitted to reside, and the sole and exclusive management of affairs will be left to the freed people themselves, subject only to the United States military authority and the acts of Cangrees. Remilitary authority and the acts of Cangrees.

ide by side. I have never seen why a white me should go into one regiment and a black man in another. It is time now to ask that a man may enj another. It is time now to ask that a man mayer in any regiment he pleases, without regard to a Black and white sailors serve together: why shot soldiers? But if the colors must de separ let there be a black regiment in each brigade our politicians think that is going too far, let us a black brigade in each division. If the our pointerans think that is going too far, let what a black brigade in each division. If that is denied, let us ask for a black division in each corps. The policy of separatism I regard as fatally dangerous its tendency is to keep alive a prejudice that every patriot wishes to see buried forever."

THE LAST BULL-OR BLUNDED That very respectable old potentate, His Holin Pope Pius IXth, has been pleased to take the pe liar condition of this wicked world into his dee consideration, and has written an Encyclical I.

nereon, for the relief of his own feelings and enefit of the souls of the rest of mankind, addressed to all the Patriarchs, Primates, An addressed to an the Patriarcas, Primates, Arebinops, and Bishops who are in communion with a Apostolic See; and by those respectable fogies, doubt, it has been or will be received with great, spect, while Protestants will wonder what the entleman means by writing in the nineteen ary as if he were of the order of the Hilde and Innocents of those long gone days when Pap Bulls were perfect animals, and bore no resemban to the emasculated beasts that they now are. Por r is ever to be respected, and even when had used there is something commanding about it; a that when a Papal Bull went mad in former day nd gored kings and nobles and neoples, going on the rampage generally, and behaving like a crazy locono tive that has got off the track, what took place be ing the aberrations, had a prodigious effect on men's minds and doings. It was no joke of power when there could be no marriages in a given courty, because an old bachelor in Rome had exer ry, because an our sacretor in nome had excom-municated that country, and placed it under an in-terdict; and no burials, because the same ancient personage had ordered the clergy to mind what personage had ordered the clergy to mind what they were about, and deny even the graits repose of the grave to the subjects of some recalcitrant king. When sovereigns, some half a doze cent-ries ago, behaved like Napoleon and Victor Emangel to day, the Pope had only to come down upo them, and they were speedily used up. Did not le nocent III. fix the flint of Philip-Augustus, in thems ter of Queen Ingelburga and Agnes de Meran, and compel that valorous and politic king to give up the wife he loved, and to take back the wife he bated? Having no wife of his own to be the blessing or plague of his life, as the case may happen to be, naturally the Pope stands up for the first wife, when there is a question between two ladies as to their matrimo nial right to a man. If a people were disposed a have a will of their own, they were soon made to know that there was a stronger will than theirs, and had to bend their stiff necks beneath the iron yoke formed for their wearing in the Roman smith, Witness the Albigenses, whose heresy was washed out in their own blood, and who were worse used by a Roman Pontiff than the Jews were by a Roman General. Monarch or nation, prince or peas ant, who then fell out with the Pope, was promptly taught that he had fallen out of the procession of life, and that he was to take the downward road in the fiery car, drawn by dragons. It was given to the Popes—so they said—to bind and to loose, and they did not allow their power over any world to los any of its force through want of exercise. They kept their arms bright and shining, through constant use; and some of them did literally put their feet n the necks of kings, and caused scou

ied to their backs. But this is a changing world, the fashions of which pass away. Even infallible Popes are as much ex-posed to the laws of mutability as if they were the commonest of mortals. The time came when the remporality got the better of the spirituality; and temporality got the better of the spirituanty; and when Napoleon got rid of a wife who was almost old enough to be his mother, and took a second wife who was quite young enough to be his daughter, be no more thought of troubling the Pope about the business than Brigham Young thinks of troubling him when he takes an eighty-ninth wife to his bed, him when he takes an eighty-ninth wife to his bed, board, and bosom. Indeed, the Emperor had the Pope snugly under lock and key at the very time he was voting himself a divorce, and the master of the Keys of St. Peter couldn't use them to let himself out of the house of bondage. In our time, we have seen princes and peoples strip the Pope cossessions with no more of compunction than was left by the Earle of Pembroke when he seized the Abbey of Wilton, and said to the re Abbess, "Go spin, you jade, go spin! not blame the Pone for not liking such treatment ecessary as we think it is; and the remonstrates against being skinned alive, we are not disposed to condemn him bitterly for objecting to the flaying process. Let him scream, screaming being an uncommonly wholesome thing in sufferen from surgical operations. But even screaming should be done with regard to time; and the complaint against this Encyclical Letter is, that it is out of all time, and is set to an ancient and obsolete tune. It belongs to a time that is dead and gone, and the music is as extinct as that of the ante vians. If the Pope finds any pleasure in writing etters, let him write as many American in search of the Presidency; them be appropriate to the age in which they are written. His Letter of December 8th, 1864, might have been made a very useful production, had Pie Nino chosen to set his pen in rest against some of the real evils that affect the world. But what is to he said of a Panal Letter that is devoted to deno ciations of "the monstrous opinions which particu-larly predominate in the present day"? How does His Holiness purpose putting down opinions not only predominate, but "particularly pred nate"? He admits, with charming candor, that his previous attempts to put an end to the parties predomination of "monstrous opinions" have ed failures, though he has the sword of St. Pelar predomination of ter in his hand, and no one knows how many le gions of saints to back him. In his past failures the infallible man may read the precise measure of la luture success, let him kick against the pricts at savagely as he may see fit to kick. The men of this age are not to be stayed on their course by the drivel of a Pope in his dotage, whose harmless rage has been excited by the progress of the Italians to unity, and who fears that he may soon be drived out of Rome, and with far worse prospects of getting back than he had when last he went to Gieta. -a place now shut against him. The moving cause of Papal wrath is that Franco-Italian Treaty which s steadily setting the new kingdom of Italy town Italy's old capital. Were it not for the threatesed loss of all that he has not already lost, the Pose would leave the world to take care of itself, and ould not write like a man who was igno history of the last four hundred years. tramp of the Italian people is too much for his nerves, and he gets into hysterical wrath over the contemplation of a change that even he must see is inevitable. His Infalliblity is, perhaps to be apprically partially excused for his folly by his age better? They are accountable for the display senility which is made in the Encyclical Letter which is as foolish an outery as that which John Bunyan puts in the mouth of the Pope who sught frighten Christian when he was pilgrimizing What the Pope would do if he could is evided

from this passage in his Letter:—"There are man who do not he sitate to affirm, that he best combition of society is that in which the power of the little is not somewhat to which the power of the little is not somewhat to which the power of law ty is not compelled to inflict the penalties of law upon violators of the Catholic religion, unless required by considerations of public safety." This "idea of social government," says the Pope, is "absolutely false;" whence the deduction is legitimate, that if His Halings could have his gain. that if His Holiness could have his way, would look up, stakes would be as high as so and there would be as high as steam, and there would be as plentiful a supply of nosi heretic as there now is a plentiful lack of roast bee. Pius IX. endorses the denunciation of his predees sor, Gregory XVI., against liberty of conscience and of worship, assertion of which that Pope characterized as "delirium;" and be himself callist an erroneous oninion, were harded to the safety of the neous opinion, very hurtful to the safety of the Catholic Church," which, no doubt, it is, thoughted erroneous, and anything but the result gry with the Pope for having put forth an Ecyclical Letter like this, for it is a disgrace to the age and some of the disgrace necessarily belongs to the French Emperor, whose soldiers are employed in keepings the incitible spring in safety at home. keeping the infallible writer in sales, where but for their presence he could not another week, so weak is his temporal contained.

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Now, Mr. Presi

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fox in the trap, and the head, and the He threw him one trap, and when he off, making for the (Laughter.) I do mean to be sure triking. I shall who was found be eating him for ? ou see he is dear